California Journal

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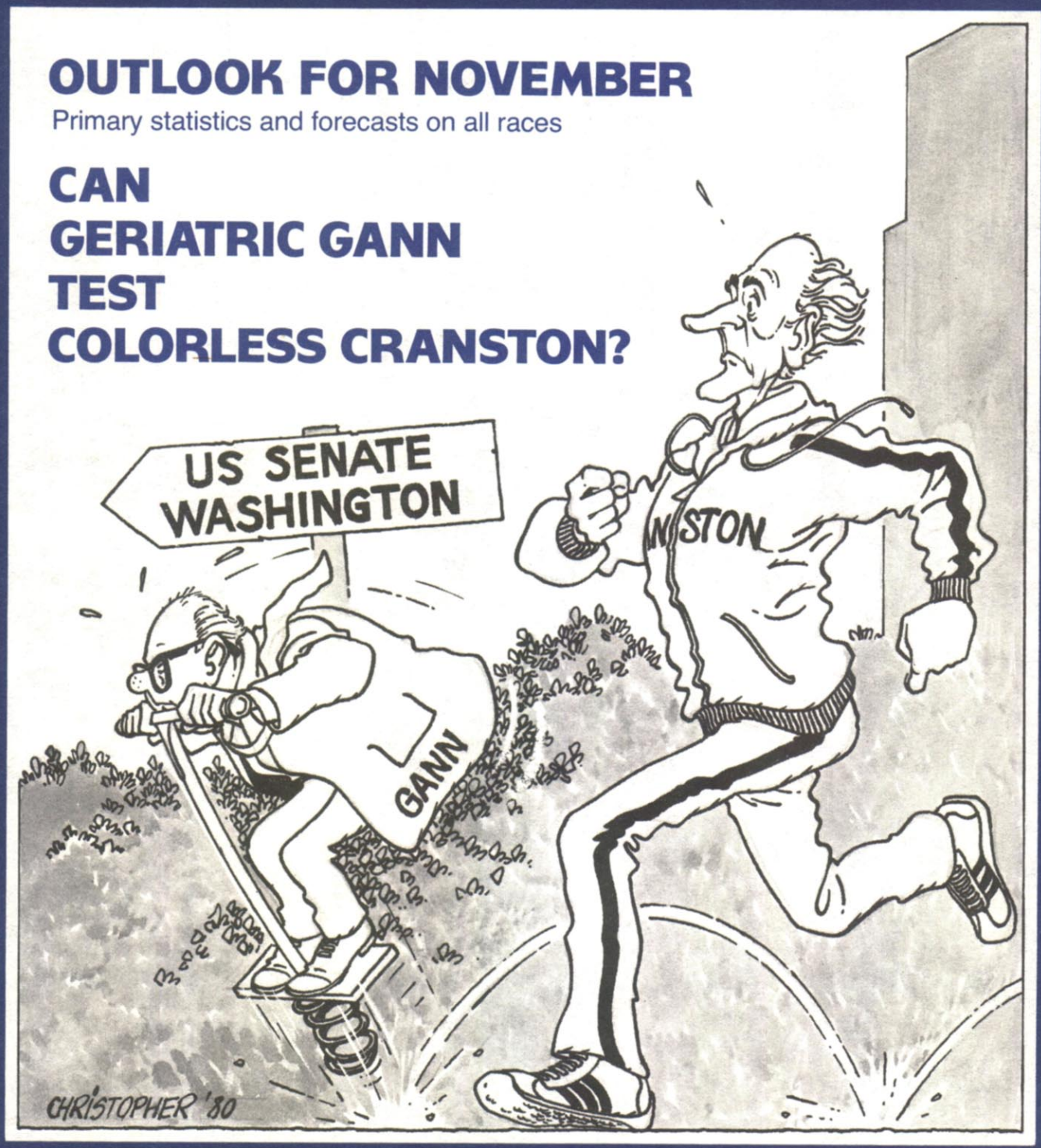

REPORT CARD ON THE STATE'S JUDICIARY

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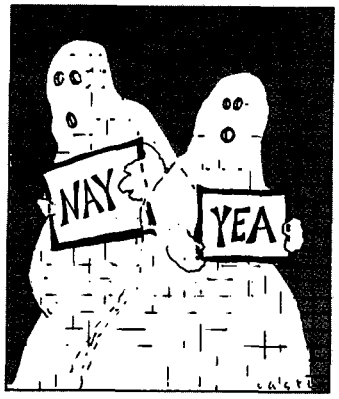
Personal PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman



Ghosts and switchers

Almost two years ago, former Solano County Republican chairman Ralph Morrell was sitting in the Assembly chambers observing a debate over a motion to withdraw a rape bill from the Criminal Justice Committee. Morrell watched his assemblyman, Democrat Vic Fazio (now in Congress), abstain from voting. But Morrell later learned that the official record of the proceedings showed that Fazio had cast a "yes" vote.

Morrell did a bit of research and came across some curious discoveries: The rules of the Assembly seemed to prohibit a member from casting a vote after abstaining, but Fazio had done exactly that. It is common practice for members to switch their votes for the official record. Often, members cast votes for colleagues who are not in the chambers and may even be many miles away — a practice known as ghost voting. Morrell then launched a personal crusade to abolish these abominable practices. His campaign climaxed this year with the introduction of a resolution by Assemblyman William Filante of Marin County calling for the elimination of ghost voting.

The Filante proposal was killed by the Assembly Rules Committee after the author conceded that on that very day he had himself cast ghost votes for two fellow Republicans. He explained that he was trying to change the rules but saw nothing wrong with using the buddy system until then.

If Morrell were to get his way, the Assembly would operate under essentially the same rules as the Senate. Absentee votes are not tolerated, and there are no changes once the vote is announced by the presiding officer. These rules are relatively easy to enforce in the Senate because the roll is called by voice, and it would take a ventriloquist to cast a ghost vote. In the Assembly, an electronic toteboard voting system is used, red for no and green for yes. It is a simple matter for a member to flip the yes-or-no switch for a seatmate or neighbor. Furthermore, the Assembly allows any member to change his or her vote so long as the house is technically still in session and if the switch does not change the outcome.

Just how horrendous are these rules? What would be the net effect if Morrell's crusade were to succeed?

Ghost voting allows members to conduct other business, such as the presentation of bills before Senate committees, while the Assembly is in session. If this could not be done, the work of the Assembly would proceed at a slower pace. (Ghost votes are rarely cast on controversial measures, and most of them are cast in accordance with the absent member's political philosophy. And any member who objects to the way he was voted on a particular bill can change it.)

Vote switching allows a member to correct an error or be recorded on the politically safe side of an issue once the outcome has been decided. It does not change the outcome of bills. Without switching, roll calls would take longer and more members would abstain on controversial bills. (In the Capitol, that's called pushing the yellow button.)

The Assembly's liberal voting procedures ought to be reformed because they are a constant source of discredit to the Legislature. Ghost voting and switching for deceptive purposes simply cannot be defended in a democracy. But it ought to be recognized that adoption of the Filante-Morrell reforms will probably have little or no beneficial effect on the operation of the Assembly.

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It will probably come as a surprise to the many Californians seeking teaching jobs that the Los Angeles City Schools placed a large ad in the *New York Times* seeking regular and bilingual elementary and secondary instructors.

Some members of the Capitol press corps are hankering to publish a bare-chest photograph of Jerry Brown's mysterious mentor, Jacques Barzaghi. The word has spread that Barzaghi has tattoos over almost his entire body.

Ed Stokes is about to be exiled from his post as executive director of the state Public Broadcasting Commission. He's headed for Vermont to run a small radio station being purchased by a commission member.

Overheard on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C.: "California has two senators, Alan Cranston and Roy Greenaway." (Greenaway is Cranston's top aide.)

Most overpublicized candidate of the year: Tom Metzger, the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. He received a miserable 18 percent of the votes cast by both parties in the June primary election and hasn't a prayer of getting elected in November. He wouldn't even have won the Democratic primary had there been only one other candidate instead of two.

Don Harrison, former political writer for the *San Diego Union,* had a rough start in the political consultant business. Harrison and his partner, L. J. Cella (son of the doctor), managed losers in the primary campaign, notably Republican congressional candidate Dan McKinnon. Harrison is one of several staffers departing the *Union* over policy differences with publisher Helen Copley.

Assemblyman Dave Elder held a victory fund-raising dinner on primary election night. He needs the money badly. No Republican candidate filed to oppose him in November.

A new political movement afoot in the state calls itself DRIP. It stands for Don't Elect Incumbent Politicians.

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State of the California judiciary: damaged, but still leading the league

By Steven Pressman

The past 12 months have not been banner times for members of the California judiciary. One year ago this summer, the state Supreme Court was under investigation, with some of the justices accused of having delayed sensitive decisions for political purposes. For a while, the proceedings conducted by the Commission on Judicial Performance were held in public, providing an unprecedented glimpse into the internal workings of the court. And although the commission found no wrongdoing among any of the justices, the episode cast a pall over the court that still lingers on.

Since the investigation of the Supreme Court, the third branch of government has been the subject of an almost continuous barrage of adverse publicity and political criticism. Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Robert Stevens, a former Republican state senator, has been investigated by the Judicial Performance Commission after he was accused of making obscene phone calls to a young couple he knew during his legislative days. Court of Appeal Justice Paul Halvonik resigned from the bench following his arrest which came when police found hundreds of marijuana plants growing in his posh Oakland Hills home. And Los Angeles Municipal Court Judge Fred Gabourie, the state's first full-blooded Native American judge, is under indictment for obstructing justice and falsifying court records.

Judge of the month

These "self-inflicted wounds" on the judiciary, as one judge put it, have certainly damaged the prestige of the California bench, traditionally considered the most preeminent state bench in the nation. "For a while we were having what some of us called the 'Judge of the Month Club' — the judge who made the papers for some kind of misconduct," quips former Court of Appeal Justice Robert Thompson. Ticking off examples like Halvonik, Stevens and Gabourie, Thompson says, "Given those series of blows, the prestige has to have suffered."

Some view the situation in California as merely part of a nationwide trend toward closer scrutiny of the judiciary. There is little doubt, however, that last year's probe of the Supreme Court, publicity about judges like Halvonik and Stevens and involvement in judicial elections by groups such as state Senator H. L. Richardson's Law and Order Campaign Committee have fostered more critical attitudes toward the judiciary in this state than those in other parts of the country.

Part of the responsibility for the public's heightened awareness of the judiciary lies with the media. "Until lately, the media were largely disinterested in the third branch of government," says J. Anthony Kline, Governor Brown's legal affairs adviser. "All of a sudden, the media's gotten interested in the courts." Kline has accused the media of "shoddy" coverage at times and says reporters are sometimes to blame for failing to present "fair and intelligent" descriptions of the judiciary.

Probably the most common criticism of judges in the state stems from a public perception that the courts — from the Supreme Court down to the trial level — have been unresponsive to concerns about crime and to widespread opposition to mandatory school busing. "People are frustrated about some of the decisions that are being made, and there's no way to express that frustration," says state Senator Newton Russell of Glendale. "My perception when I came to Sacramento was that the judiciary should be as independent as possible. I have come to the conclusion over a period of time that judges are legislating their own social philosophies from the bench."

Russell is not alone in his concern that the courts have become mini-legislatures assuming broad authority to impose social policy in the absence of — or even despite — existing actions by the Legislature. "The California Supreme Court has extended avowedly the lawmaking function of that court beyond any other that I know of," says former Justice Thompson. Such criticism is sparking a brushfire of political efforts to alter dramatically the manner in which the California judiciary operates. Both by initiative drives and through legislative measures, critics of the courts are trying to give voters and legislators a greater say in who will sit on the trial and appellate benches in California. Here are some of the proposals:

- Last month the Senate killed a constitutional amendment proposed by Senator Newton Russell which would have required appeals and Supreme Court justices to run in contested elections. The amendment also would have cut terms of high court justices from 12 to eight years and given the Senate veto power over all judicial appointments.
- The state Republican Party has sponsored an almost identical plan and has been collecting signatures to place an initiative on a future ballot.
- In May the Senate approved a proposed constitutional amendment (SCA 37) by Senator John Garamendi that would require Senate confirmation of appointments to the Courts of Appeal and the Supreme Court.
- Other questions are being raised about the system of confirming appellate appointments. The Commission on Judicial Appointments — consisting of the chief justice, attorney general and presiding justice of the Court of Appeal — currently holds confirmation power. State Bar President Charles Clifford says the attorney general should not have a role in confirming appellate appointments since he often appears as a litigant in front of the justices he passes judgment on. But instead of switching to Senate confirmation, Clifford would rather have an expanded appointments commission with members appointed by the Legislature, the judiciary, and the State Bar.
- Senator Richardson's Law and Order Committee is circulating petitions for a June 1982 ballot initiative which would accomplish what Russell's amendment would have

Steven Pressman is a reporter for The Los Angeles Daily Journal *and a frequent contributor to the* California Journal.

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done. The committee has been unhappy with several Supreme Court decisions it considers too liberal, and it has campaigned to defeat judges it considers soft on crime.

A threat to independence

Most judges wince at the prospect of contested elections and consider voter retaliation for unpopular decisions as a serious threat to judicial independence. "The original concept of judicial elections was to provide a way to get rid of lazy people, drunks and judges who were senile or demonstrated a potential for corruptibility," says Los Angeles Superior Court Judge David Eagleson, president of the California Judges Association. "But never was it conceived that you would measure the fitness of a judicial officer by whether the decisions he or she made comported with your view of what's right or wrong."

Eagleson adds a crucial point: The courts are deciding controversial issues like busing only because legislative bodies have ducked them. "Any problem in life can be reduced to a legal issue, and the courts are having to decide issues that have, until recently, been in the area of politics," Eagleson says.

Senator Russell disagrees. "We (legislators) may be chided by the courts for not acting, but it's not their position to act for us, which is what they've done." Switching to a system of contested elections for appellate as well as trial judges would at least give voters an opportunity to know and vote for or against various kinds of judicial philosophies which presumably would surface during campaigns, Russell insists.

But if contested elections for trial judges are any guide, voters are not likely to learn much about appellate court candidates through campaigns. Judicial elections, with rare exceptions, are generally low-key affairs. As for concerns that the present judicial system has become overly politicized, former Court of Appeal Justice Thompson says, "Popular elections won't help any. They will just make things worse."

Targets: Brown and Bird

Criticism of the judicial system is not unprecedented, but the current emotional pitch of the critics is unusually high. Special targets in the past five years have been Governor Brown, whose judicial appointments have often been controversial, and Chief Justice Rose Bird, whose appointment may have been the most controversial of all.

The Senate debate on Garamendi's proposed amendment was laced with references to Brown's appointments of homosexuals and others with little or no prior judicial experience before being named to appellate courts. Garamendi insisted that he was not aiming his proposal only at Brown. Instead, he likened the confirmation plan to the federal system which gives the U.S. Senate an advise-and-consent role in presidential bench appointments.

But opponents of the Garamendi measure claim Senate confirmation of judges would subject them to a political test that threatens judicial independence almost as seriously as would contested elections. Such independence "means that judges ought to be free — free to render unpopular decisions. The judiciary is not supposed to be accountable to the electorate," said Senator Barry Keene during the debate.

While many critics of the Supreme Court blame Brown's appointments for causing the decline in the court's prestige, others say the roots of the court's current internal problems extend to the latter years of Ronald Reagan's second term as governor. Beginning with the appointments of William Clark and Frank Richardson, some observers think, the court never regained the collegiality, intellectuality and high regard that marked the years in which the court was led by Chief Justices Roger Traynor, Phil Gibson and Donald Wright. "There's certainly a very wide cleavage on the court now. It's very apparent," says one former Supreme Court justice.

Some court critics blame Brown for not naming justices to the Supreme Court with the stature and reputations of their predecessors, leaving a void at the helm of the state's judiciary which has, in turn, led to administrative problems and diminished prestige. "It would have taken a knowledge of the judicial system and of the political system in general to recognize that special need," says Thompson, who was often regarded as a worthy candidate for the Supreme Court. "I think it's pretty clear that Jerry Brown neither had that knowledge of how the judicial system operates nor did he have an adequate sense of the function of the Supreme Court in the total scheme of the California political system. And as it turned out, the Brown appointees (Bird, Wiley Manuel and Frank Newman) simply did not fill the role of their predecessors."

Kline, in the governor's office, reacts sharply to criticism aimed at Brown's selections to the Supreme Court. He claims it is based primarily on resentment over Brown's refusal to name justices from members of the old-boy network in California's legal circles. "If there is any antipathy toward the court, it is probably more the result of the fact that Governor Brown has begun to look outside the tight legal fraternity when making appointments," says Kline. And if the current court lacks some of the collegiality displayed by previous courts, Kline said it's is because the justices now are not all "white males who shared common life experiences." The diversity of California's population and

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The commission in capsule

Californians have probably heard more about the Commission on Judicial Performance during the past year than they ever did before. The nine-member commission, charged with investigating charges of judicial misconduct, held open hearings last summer to determine whether justices of the state Supreme Court had improperly held up the release of some sensitive decisions. While the hearings did not lead to any formal charges, they did result in suggestions for change in the commission.

In its annual report to the governor in January, the commission asked for broader powers to enforce disciplinary actions it takes against judges. Under the commission's current rules, sanctions against errant judges can only be enforced by the Supreme Court. Thus, had last year's hearings resulted in action against some justices, the Supreme Court would have been placed in the awkward position of disciplining its own members.

The commission also recommended that it be permitted to report its actions publicly and conduct open proceedings after formal charges are brought against judges. This was a response to the bitter dispute last summer when Justice Stanley Mosk filed suit to prevent the commission from conducting its probe of the Supreme Court in open session. Mosk succeeded in closing the hearings, and the commission was eventually able to release only a notice of its decision not to bring charges against any of the justices. But it could not explain what went into that decision.

Soon after those two recommendations were made, three members of the panel said even more radical changes were needed to remove any Supreme Court influence over the commission. Currently, five of the commission's members are named by the high court. Under the plan proposed by former commission chairman Bertram Janes and members Hillel Chodos and Thomas Willoughby, judicial members of the commission would be elected by fellow judges. Some public proceedings would be permitted and discipline decisions would not be reviewable by the Supreme Court. In addition, the panel would be increased to 17, including nine judicial members, four lawyers named by the State Bar and four public members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the state Senate.

But the commission's reform package was unanimously opposed by the executive board of the California Judges Association. The judges were particularly upset with the possibility of public proceedings and the proposed limitation on Supreme Court review of the commission's actions.

"If we agree that the California judiciary in the past has been at the highest level, we'd also have to concede that the Commission on Judicial Performance, under its present rules, is one of the reasons for it," said Los Angeles Superior Court Judge David Eagleson, president of the judges association.

Willoughby, a public member appointed to the commission two years ago by Governor Brown, said many judges think the best way for the panel to go about its business is in a "quiet and essentially private way." But Willoughby, an Assembly committee consultant, thinks open proceedings would reduce public suspicion that the commission is out to protect judges from embarrassing disclosures.

Willoughby, Chodos and Janes (who retired from the commission and from the Court of Appeal in December) tried unsuccessfully to get other commission members to join them in endorsing the changes that went beyond the commission's own recommendations. But in light of judicial opposition, the future of any reform package is clouded. The judges association's opposition dampened legislative interest in pushing the commission changes. And the commission itself then voted to withdraw the entire set of proposed changes and to table the issue for further study. — S.P.

Brown's attempt at diversifying the bench, Kline says, has led to a "greater ferment with less common vision of how problems are addressed and resolved."

A 'Jacksonian Democrat'

In fact, Brown has received widespread praise for naming far more women and minorities to the bench than any of his predecessors. But senior judges around the state have resented Chief Justice Bird's policy of sharing some of the perquisites of judicial office with junior judges at the expense of more experienced ones. For example, Bird has occasionally assigned newer municipal court judges to fill temporary vacancies on the Courts of Appeal while passing over dozens of eager and more senior Superior Court judges. Such a policy, says one former Supreme Court justice who described Bird as a "Jacksonian Democrat," is "not only frustrating to judges, but damned annoying as well. A lot of judges I talk with tell me the job is just not fun anymore."

Bird has also been criticized for lacking sufficient administrative skills to lead the Judicial Council, the body which sets the rules and policies for the state's courts. Some question the ability of any chief justice to play both a judicial and administrative role as head of the court system. Past chief justices, notably Gibson and Wright, held onto the administrative reins but delegated much of those responsibilities to Ralph Kleps, California's first and only director of the Administrative Office of the Courts (an arm of the Judicial Council) until Rose Bird entered office. Disputes with the new chief justice over filling court staff positions led to Kleps' departure from the AOC position and replacement by former State Bar President Ralph Gampell. "Chief Justice Bird wanted to reassert the administrative responsibilities and duties of the chief justice in a very aggressive way," says Kline, adding that Bird is the first chief justice since Gibson with a "serious interest" in the administrative side of the job.

Gampell, meanwhile, says the courts are running more smoothly now than when he took over from Kleps. That is a claim disputed by some critics of Bird who say she has badly mismanaged court operations and alienated others who must work with her. They assert that — 12 months after the probe about the timing of the *Tanner* (use-a-gun, go-to-prison) decision— there is still a divisive struggle taking place within the high court that continues to threaten the credibility and respect that the court has historically been accorded.

Some judges around the state, meanwhile, have taken public pot shots at several of the decisions being handed down by courts above them. "There are an awful lot of judges who aren't paying a lot of attention to what the Supreme Court says," comments Preble Stolz, a UC Berkeley law professor who is writing a book about the state's highest court after carefully observing last year's court investigation. Much of Stolz' criticism of the Supreme Court is aimed

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at Bird who, he says, lacks both the administrative and leadership qualities needed to lead the court.

But other members of the court share some of the responsibility for the tribunal's credibility problem of being "well meaning, but not too bright sometimes," says Stolz, a former aide to Governor Brown.

Helpful changes

Still, there are changes taking place at the Supreme Court and in other courts around the state that are seen as helpful in improving the judiciary. Computerized data processing systems are working their way into the courts and are expected to aid in legal research at the Supreme Court and the Courts of Appeal. A grant of nearly $100,000 from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration will fund a one-year study of case-processing procedures at the Supreme Court as well as functions of the court clerk's office. (Parts of the study, however, are likely to be repetitious; a similar study of the clerk's office was conducted a few years ago.) "There are those who are far more tactful than I who say the courts need improvements in their techniques to bring them into this century," says noted California legal scholar Bernard Witkin. "I say those improvements are needed to save the courts in their entirety."

But even ideas on improving the internal operations of courts can stir up heated controversies. One such issue is the Supreme Court's move away from the tradition of temporary law clerks (usually one-year assignments for recent law school graduates) to the hiring of career research attorneys. Some observers warn that an increasing reliance on permanent staff attorneys will further insulate individual justices from taking responsibility for their own work. With the installation of staff specifically hired for the purpose of researching and drafting opinions, Thompson believe justices will quickly discard the "judicial discipline of being forced to articulate in writing their bright ideas."

Others see the use of career staff attorneys as nothing but a necessary tool to aid the hard-pressed courts in producing ever-increasing volumes of decisions. "The future of the appellate courts of this state and the nation depend upon the increasing use of expert staff with trained appellate lawyers," asserts Witkin. Stolz agrees, adding that a reliance on temporary law clerks and "externs" (students still in law school) smacks of running a justice system "on the cheap." Stolz' only concern is being able to attract qualified attorneys willing to work in what is, by its very nature, a very low-visibility position in the shadow of the justices for whom they work.

Perhaps part of the reason that the judiciary has been so sensitive to criticism, both from within its ranks and from external sources, is that it has simply not been accustomed to much publicity. And while many judges admit to being defensive against their critics, others think the judiciary looks pretty good in relation to other institutions in society.

"For the number of judges who make odd phone calls or who like to have grass for house plants or who get indicted for fixing cases, there are literally hundreds who are working their tails off," says Thompson. "If that's the case, why not have the system open?"

Furthermore, the judiciary is just one of several institutions that is being examined more closely now by the public and the media. "I don't think the so-called dissatisfaction with the judiciary is any different than the general dissatisfaction by the public of almost any institution I can think of," comments Appeals Court Justice Jerome Smith, former chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

One thing seems certain, however: The judiciary is not likely to recede into being the quiet and unobtrusive branch of government it once was. "The kind of issues that are in the courts are on the cutting edge because California is on the cutting edge," says Kline. He points to precedent-setting cases involving educational finance and minority admissions policies that first arose in California.

And while the judicial machinery has sustained some damage, and its image has been tarnished, it is difficult to prove that the overall quality of the state's judiciary has significantly declined.

"If we have fallen somewhat," says Judge Eagleson in Los Angeles, "it's like the baseball player who's batting .500 who slips a little to where he's now batting .400. But he still leads the league."

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Evangelical Christians: born-again political activists

By Tony Quinn

"Out of the pews and into the precincts," exhorts the Reverend Bob Billings. "It's time for godly folks to have an input into government," adds Richard Zone. With a moral fervor not heard since the days of William Jennings Bryan, Evangelical Christians are leaping into the political arena. Given their numbers and the volatility of the American political scene, their impact could be dramatic.

Jimmy Carter's campaign four years ago made born-again Christianity a household word, and John Anderson has sought the presidency this year with an evangelical message. But the overwhelming favorite of fundamentalist Christians in this election year is Ronald Reagan. They confidently predict that Christian activists will be a decisive factor for Reagan in a number of states.

Religion and politics have mixed in America for a long time. The civil rights movement started in the black churches in the 1950s, and Cesar Chavez received vital support from the Catholic Church in the 1960s. But for born-again Christians, political activity is a new and radical departure from the past. For more than half a century, Evangelical Protestants steered clear of politics and politicians, leaving that sphere to the liberal churches.

Liberal Catholics and Protestants had a clear road, and even today the traditional lobbyists for church positions in Sacramento are found on the left, in groups like the California Church Council and the Friends Committee on Legislation.

Evangelical Christians are bent on changing that. They are increasingly upset by what they see as anti-God, anti-family politics in America, resulting in liberal pornography laws, government protection of homosexual life styles, and tax-paid abortions on demand. "There's a lot of anger, a sense of moral corruption, and sense of family not being helped and they want to change that," writes one observer.

A flood of letters

Evangelicals are advancing their cause with a militancy markedly different from the more genteel forms of pursuasion found among the liberal churches. The Christian activists set their style in their first big battle: a 1977 fight over taxation of private schools.

It seemed like a minor issue at the time. The Internal Revenue Service wanted new guidelines on tax exemptions for private and church schools which it suspected of racial discrimination. But IRS had no idea what a raw nerve it was rubbing. Fundamentalist churches had been busy setting up private schools to get away from the secularism, racial quotas and mediocre education they felt existed in the public schools. Now the government was telling them they could not do this.

The Evangelicals exploded into opposition, flooding congressional offices with protest letters, and IRS was forced to back off. "The IRS commissioner has done more to bring

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Christians together than any man since the Apostle Paul," boasts Reverend Billings. Out of the IRS experience came a determined effort to organize the Evangelical churches as a political force. The Evangelicals found they had not only the numbers, but a ready-made political organization.

For years, Evangelical ministers such as the Reverend Jerry Farwell of Lynchburg, Virginia, have reached millions of adherents through their radio and television programs. Reverend Farwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour" has an estimated 15 million viewers on 300 television stations.

Farwell has been bothered by a decline in traditional morality and what he perceives as liberal policies on moral issues such as homosexuality, abortion and family life. In 1979, he organized the "Moral Majority" to marshall his followers to restore "traditional moral and Biblical principles" through direct political action.

Even more directly active in politics is Christian Voice, founded in 1979 in Pasadena. Christian Voice claims to have 187,000 members, a mailing list of 47,000 ministers and priests, and $3 million budgeted for direct political contributions in the 1980 elections. Both Moral Majority and Christian Voice are registered as non-profit, non-tax exempt corporations, so they can become directly involved in political campaigns.

The Christian political movement allies itself directly with the Republican Party's conservative New Right. Two central issues uniting them are opposition to abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment. ERA, says Farwell, is a "vicious attack on the monogamous Christian home." Farwell takes credit for having stopped ERA in his home state of Virginia.

The anti-abortion battle has drawn the lines even more

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clearly, and it unites Evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics on an issue of deep concern to both. The right-to-life movement got into politics in a big way in the 1978 elections, when abortion became a major issue in several U.S. Senate races. Pro-lifers take credit for the upset defeats of Senators Dick Clark of Iowa and Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire, both liberal Democrats who favored federal funding of abortions. Their successors, Senators Roger Jepsen and Gordon Humphrey, are Republican New Right activists who underscore the close political relationship between the Evangelical Christians and the New Right.

The New Right stresses conservative social issues, such as family life and the traditional morality, rather than just the usual conservative economic issues. It has expanded the

conservative appeal beyond white-collar, business-suit Republicans to a big overall constituency, with notable political success.

And no man in America better exemplifies the melding of the political and religious right than Ronald Reagan. Throughout the spring primaries, he astounded the pundits by pulling a huge crossover vote of working-class Democrats, many of them born-again Christians. In Reagan the political New Right and the Christian right have a candidate they can rally around.

Christian Voice made extensive mailings on Reagan's behalf in the primaries, and their support could be crucial in the general election. Federal law will prohibit private contributions directly to the Reagan campaign. However, Christian groups working independently of the formal Reagan organization will be able to spend virtually unlimited amounts on his behalf. "Reagan is the alternative for the Christian voter who wants to vote a moral, Christian man into the highest office in the land," explains Christian Voice executive director Richard Zone. His group hopes to mail 5 million pieces on Reagan's behalf by November.

Former Arizona Republican Congressman John Conlan, who helped raise money from Christian groups for Reagan in the primaries, claims Reagan's positions on issues "coincides with the main current of thought in Catholic, Protestant and conservative Jewish circles." What about born-again Christian Jimmy Carter? "Carter had gay liberation people to the White House, has done nothing to advance the pro-life cause, and had his IRS commissioner harrassing Christian schools," scoffs Conlan.

Carter got a huge Evangelical vote, particularly in the Southern Bible Belt states, in 1976. But Christian activists want to take those states away this time — thereby, they believe, denying Carter re-election. John Anderson's liberal social views disqualify him from Evangelical support, despite the fact he too is a born-again Christian. So Reagan is the hero of the hour.

Sacramento lawyer Herb Ellingwood, who was legal affairs secretary in the Reagan Administration and is a key contact for Reagan among Christian groups, believes there is a deep disappointment about Carter among Evangelical groups. "He preached morality but he did not produce. Evangelicals feel left out of the Carter Administration."

One of the primary goals of the Christian activists, according to Ellingwood, is to achieve more conservative administrators, particularly in the health and educational agencies, and they expect this would occur under Reagan. A major sore point for Evangelicals with Carter has been his appointees.

But Reagan has had some bridge-building to do with the Christian movement, for his past support of ERA and his signing of the 1967 California therapeutic abortion law, then the most liberal law in the country. But Reagan, Representative Phil Crane and former Texas Governor John Connally were the only candidates to compete openly for the Christian vote in the primaries, and once Crane and Connally were out of the picture, Reagan had it all to himself.

Political analysts who spent countless hours trying to figure out why Reagan was running well among middle- and lower-income voters in the spring rarely looked at the Evangelical phenomenon. Christian Voice claims a potential constituency of 40 million born-again Evangelicals, 30 million conservative ethnic Catholics and several million Mormons and Orthodox Jews.

An underestimated intensity

While the economic views of the Republican right may not appeal to all or many of these groups, the social views do. Christian leaders are convinced the national media badly underestimates the intensity of feeling on family and moral issues among a large segment of the nation, perhaps because national opinion leaders have relatively little in common with them. Since 1977, the Evangelicals have spearheaded repeal of a number of gay rights ordinances, passage of the anti-abortion Hyde Amendment in Congress, and opposition to the ratification on the ERA. But until Reagan's primary wins, they were ignored as a national political force.

Much of their political clout derives from their ability to form political alliances with other faiths. Doctrinal purity was long a prime tenet with fundamentalist Protestants. Now, however, this has been set aside; Farwell notes that some of his strongest support when he preached against gay rights, pornography, abortion on demand and the ERA was from Catholics and Mormons.

Vatican II brought the Catholic Church socially if not doctrinally closer to mainline Protestantism. Initially the result was a union between liberal Catholic and liberal Protestants, but the Catholic charismatic movement and Evangelical Protestantism share a common belief in personal salvation, and where doctrinal ties exist, political ties follow.

Paul Weyrich, a New Right political theorist, sees an ecumenical coalition on politics somewhat different than what Vatican II scholars envisioned. "Gospel-oriented Catholics, having been told by the hierarchy that they should seek accommodation with their Protestant brethren, have taken to working with fundamentalist Evangelical Protestants in, for example, the right-to-life movement, rather than with liberal Protestants in boycotting grapes with Cesar Chavez."

Indeed, the right-to-life movement may find more support with conservative Protestants than with Catholics. Former

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Assemblyman Bob Burke, the California lobbyist for right-to-life groups, says he has not found abortion funding a religious issue with Catholic legislators. "The movement is much more political than religious. Some Catholic lawmakers vote for abortion funding." William Maloney, editor of an anti-abortion weekly, insists it is a religious issue with many Evangelicals, though. "I find them more committed than many other religious groups, including the Catholics."

Evangelicals have an unusual tie to Jews: strong support for Israel's claims to the Holy Land. "God's promise to Abraham was to bless those who bless the Jews," says Farwell. Jewish voters have become markedly more conservative and are finding themselves aligned, somewhat to their surprise, with the Christian right, at least on foreign policy matters.

Some Jewish activists contend Reagan will win a large Jewish vote in the fall, surpassing his prior low level of support among Jews. They see this as a consequence of a Jewish rightward movement, an American version of the phenomenon that brought Begin to power in Israel.

'Christianizing' government

This sudden flexing of born-again muscle at the ballot box is not without its detractors. Although some mainline churches welcome the intrusion into politics by their once reticent brethren, others see a danger to the separation of church and state and a sectarian attempt to impose one version of morality on the nation.

Evangelicals for Social Action, a liberal group, recently warned its members, "There is a danger that Evangelicals will be preoccupied with a selective list of concerns that does not reflect truly biblical priorities and emphases. The Gospel must not be bound to any singular political philosophy, program, party or leader."

Other critics insist the Evangelicals are treating as moral questions issues that are highly political. "It is arrogant to assert that one's position on a political issue is 'Christian' and that all others are 'unchristian,' 'immoral,' or 'sinful,' " contends the Lutheran Church Council. "There is no Christian position on issues; there are Christians who hold positions. It is unnecessary and unbiblical for any church group or individual to seek to 'Christianize' the government."

When Evangelical groups gathered about 200,000 persons in Washington in May for a "Washington for Jesus" rally, the Washington representatives of several Protestant, Catholic and Jewish denominations issued a statement: "We strongly oppose the exclusive use of 'religious grounds' as a yardstick for determining the qualities of candidates for public office." Of particular concern to some church groups, and even some Evangelicals, was a voting record roll call published in April by Christian Voice that rated U.S. representatives and senators on "Christian-moral issues." Among the 14 issues rated were support for a balanced budget, Taiwan, and the former white government of Rhodesia, along with school prayer, busing and racial quotas. Critics claimed the positions really represented right-wing ideology, not biblical theology.

The Christian groups are undaunted by the criticism. "Eighty to 90 percent of all issues before Congress are moral issues," explains Zone. Meanwhile, the Christian Voice Fund for Moral Government plans to target 40 to 50 liberal congressional members and senators for defeat this fall, including several in California. Their "hit list," paralleling closely the list prepared by national conservative organizations, includes Democratic Senators George McGovern of South Dakota, John Culver of Iowa, Frank Church of Idaho and Alan Cranston of California.

Christian Voice plans to send its rating sheet to every minister in each candidate's state or district. Pastors will be asked to mention the morality rating from the pulpit, endorse the incumbent's opponent, and urge the congregation to vote. A similar strategy will be used in advancing Reagan's cause among the Christian denominations.

The Evengelicals' strategy is not particularly new or unique. All sorts of interest groups from environmentalists to the Chamber of Commerce publish voting records, but this is the first time any organization has tried to put a stamp of moral approval on a congressional member's voting record.

In urging pastors to support Reagan or favored congressional candidates, the Evangelicals are following the successful example of black ministers who have worked long to deliver the black vote from the pulpit. Nor is voting one's religion anything new. John Kennedy won the presidency in 1960 because of a heavy Catholic vote in the big cities, and many people attribute his brother's poor showing in the 1980 primaries to Catholic defections over the abortion issue.

The organization and commitment of the Christian political mobilization is impressive. Californians for a Biblical Majority, a ministers' group, puts out periodic bulletins alerting members to issues of concern. The Religious Roundtable, an umbrella group covering several denominations, is also a tie between the Christian right and the political New Right. The Roundtable's founder, Ed McAteer, was formerly field director for the Conservative Caucus. The Roundtable's inaugural meeting last year included several presentations on political tactics by New Right organizers.

The success of the Christian right will be measured in the 1980 elections, but already the movement has accomplished a transformation of sorts. Since the New Deal, the major problem for conservative Republicans has been a limited electoral base, as evidenced in the Goldwater debacle.

Evangelical Protestants, particularly in the Bible Belt, are of a much different social and economic stratum than is ordinarily drawn to conservative Republicanism. If the political right and the Christian right unite for electoral purposes, their numbers will be impressive. The one recent election in which they did come together produced Richard Nixon's victory in 1972, in reaction to the liberal policies of George McGovern. Nixon's 47 million votes amounted to a 61 percent landslide.

It is not yet clear whether that coalition can be put back together for Reagan or on behalf of chosen congressional candidates. But no one will watch the coalition's efforts more closely than the former governor in Pacific Palisades and the born-again Baptist in the White House.

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Radical changes ahead for the state's public schools

By MAUREEN FITZGERALD

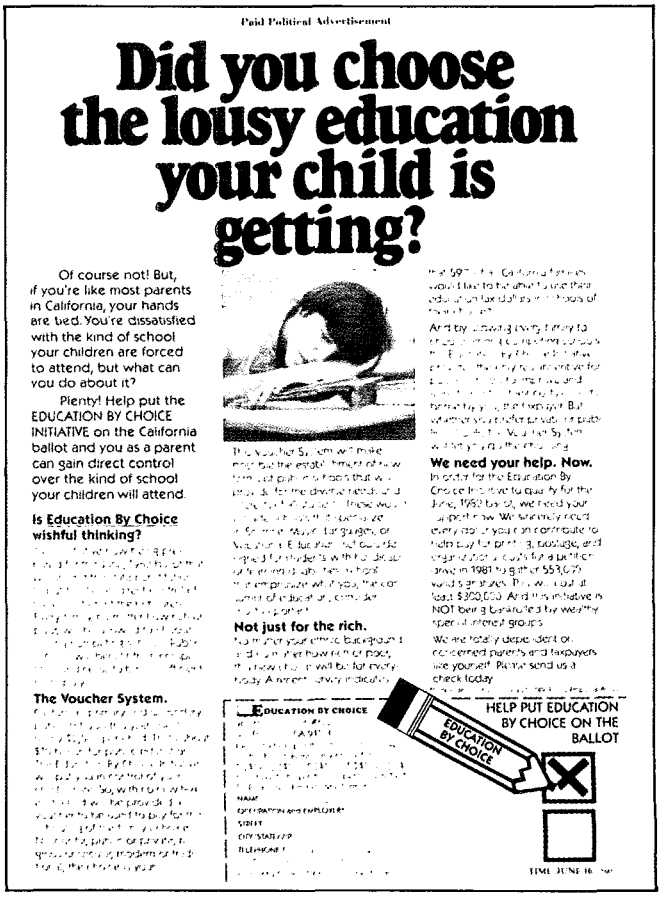
A smart bookmaker would give mighty long odds on the likelihood of California's public school system surviving the next decade in anything resembling its current size and shape. There are many clear signs that Californians are not satisfied with the performance of the public schools and want major changes. Some of those signs:

- A major initiative campaign is now under way to provide state income-tax credits of $1,200 a year for the cost of education in public or private schools. Should this measure qualify for the ballot and be approved, there probably would be a mass exodus of middle-class students from the public to private schools.
- Should that attempt fail, Berkeley law professor John Coons is warming up in the bull pen for a second attempt to place a school-voucher proposal on the ballot.
- Attorney General George Deukmejian has planted the seeds for education to become the pivotal issue in the 1982 gubernatorial election with his highly unusual lawsuit charging that the Los Angeles school district is guilty of "cruel and unusual punishment" of students by forcing them to attend unsafe schools.
- The issue of school busing to achieve integration has emerged as the central political issue in the Los Angeles area and has produced widespread dissatisfaction with the educational system as well as "white flight" to the suburbs.
- Those who have studied the underlying reasons for California's tax revolt have come to the conclusion that the public is not convinced that it gets its money's worth from the schools and would grasp almost any opportunity to bring about reforms.
- Parent organizations and school boards in several California communities are taking stronger stands in collective bargaining with employee groups, heightening the possibility of more labor strife and greater public discontent.
- A minimum-competency law that takes effect next year may produce a flood of court suits from students denied high-school diplomas because they fail the competency exams. Minority leaders are gearing up to challenge the law as unconstitutional because a greater percentage of minority students than Anglos are failing the warm-up exams. In the Legislature, minority and some education-lobby groups are trying to get the law's effective date postponed.

The education establishment has managed to beat back two serious threats to the status quo in the past year. The first Coons-Sugarman voucher plan failed to qualify for the ballot, largely because the UC law professors were political amateurs and did not know how to raise enough funds to conduct a successful statewide campaign. Then, with the defeat of Proposition 9, the schools avoided immediate and major cutbacks in program and personnel. Since about 70 percent of all school support now comes from the state, the income tax-cutting proposal on the June ballot would have been bad news for public education.

But the battles of 1979 - 80 may have been only the opening skirmishes in a bigger educational conflict. In the '80s, there likely will be new initiative proposals for radical change, continuing controversy over the schools' performance, and increasing court involvement in such volatile issues as busing, campus violence and school finance. Here are the major areas for potential conflict:

- ***Initiative proposals.*** A number are now circulating, but the most significant one is a constitutional amendment that would permit parents a tax credit of up to $1,200 for each child in public or private school. The measure is sponsored by the National Taxpayers Union which has been leading the fight for a balanced budget at the federal level. The NTU proposal would allow the credit for educational expenses at either public or private elementary and secondary schools, as well as for full-time students at institutions of higher learning. The sponsors argue that tax credits would bring competition into schools by giving parents a choice. The measure is similar to an unsuccessful initiative circulated by the NTU last year. The sponsors have an August 1st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Did you choose the lousy education your child is getting?

Of course not! But, if you're like most parents in California, your hands are tied. You're dissatisfied with the kind of school your children are forced to attend, but what can you do about it?

Plenty! Help put the EDUCATION BY CHOICE INITIATIVE on the California ballot and you as a parent can gain direct control over the kind of school your children will attend.

Is Education By Choice wishful thinking?

The Voucher System.

Not just for the rich.

We need your help. Now.

EDUCATION BY CHOICE

HELP PUT EDUCATION BY CHOICE ON THE BALLOT

Maureen Fitzgerald is the director of a "Citizen Democracy" research project being conducted by the Journal *with the assistance of a grant from the Ford Foundation.*

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deadline (in order to qualify for the June 1982 ballot).

The voucher advocates also plan to try again. Coons says he hopes to launch another drive next year if a sufficient war chest can be raised. The target is $250,000. Coons says he has learned from the mistakes of the first attempt.

The theme common to both the voucher and the tax credit proposals is that the public schools aren't doing the job and would shape up if there were competition. Historically, the school community has fought any major change from the status quo. Either vouchers or tax credits would give middle-class parents a way of leaving troubled inner-city schools, according to education leaders.

• ***Schools' performance.*** Even though enrollment is going down, the cost of schools is going up, and opinion polls show that the public wonders if it's getting what it is paying for. Funds for kindergarten through 12th grade programs now constitute about 35 percent of the total state budget. In terms of total dollars and per-pupil costs, education is getting more money each year. (See chart.) Total expenditures for K-12 was $9.52 billion in 1978-79, $10.6 billion in 1979-80 and a projected $11.3 billion in this fiscal year. (Enrollment in public schools is about 4.2 million, counting adult education and summer school.)

Yet recent reports of the results of minimum-competency testing of last year's sophomores are dismal. Half of the districts said that up to 30 percent of their students failed. Another fifth said that up to 40 percent had failed, and almost another third said that more than 40 percent of the students failed.

What will be the political repercussions if a significant number of students fails to get high school diplomas? Lawmakers, already under pressure to delay the 1981 effective date, have been told that students need more time to become accustomed to the higher expectations. But Assemblyman Gary Hart, author of the 1976 competency-test law, is concerned that districts may start lowering passing scores or reducing the difficulty of the tests. The law allows each district to set its own standards for the proficiency tests, and Hart wants the law applied on schedule.

While some parents are becoming increasingly involved in their children's schooling, other evidence shows a widening gap between home and school. About one-fourth of the districts have complained that half of the parents did not show up for sessions scheduled to discuss their children's failure of the proficiency test.

Funding the public schools

California's public schools have not done badly during the past decade in keeping pace with the cost of living. In fact, the number of tax dollars spent on each child has risen more rapidly than inflation. The legislative analyst has reported that schools have received a 20 percent increase in terms of constant dollars. The raw statistics indicate that the boost is even higher. The Consumer Price Index rose 92 percent between 1971 and 1979. The increase in cost per student rose 118 percent. The following chart shows the total spent for schools from federal, state and local sources and the average cost per student:

School year	Total spent	Cost per student
1971-72	$ 5.3 billion	$1,145
1975-76	$ 8.05	$1,690
1978-79	$ 9.52	$2,229
1979-80	$10.62	$2,502
1980-81	$11.27	$2,674

• ***Court involvement.*** Over the past decade, the courts have intervened in the areas of school finance, bilingual education and desegregation of the schools. In several California cities, especially Los Angeles, the issue of mandatory busing for desegregation has become a political hot potato.

In late May Superior Court Judge Paul Egly ordered busing of more LA children but for shorter distances. His order angered both pro and con busing sides, because he called for expanding the number of grades affected but limited busing rides to a target 30 minutes. To do this, the district would be carved into 11 areas and busing done within, but not across, area boundaries.

School board president Roberta Weintraub immediately charged that Egly's order "totally destroys the neighborhood schools" and would lead to a tremendous exodus of white families from the school district. Minority leaders criticized the order because it will leave many inner-city blacks and Hispanics in segregated schools. But Egly said he did not order more extensive busing because of the prospects of white flight. He acknowledged that about 25,000 white students have vanished from the LA public schools since busing began two years ago.

As expected, a group of parents filed suit in late May charging that Egly's order violates Proposition 1, passed last November and designed to limit court-ordered busing. Still pending is a lawsuit challenging Proposition 1's constitutionality on the grounds that it seeks to limit remedies for desegregation. There is much uncertainty in the whole area of busing: What exactly are the federal courts' standards? In recent months, the U.S. Supreme Court has vacillated on the issue of using busing to promote integration.

Some experts believe that the only solution to desegregating urban school districts is metropolitan busing which would combine suburban, predominantly white school districts with the inner-city school populations. The problem is that metro busing would likely lead to more white flight to private schools and increase pressure for tax-credit or voucher plans to finance the flight. One in 10 California children now attends a private school, and the number increases every year.

Deukmejian's lawsuit

The perception that public education may be a major issue in the '80s is evidenced by Attorney General George Deukmejian's recent lawsuit on violence in the LA schools. Deukmejian, who is planning to run for higher office, is focusing on a problem he thinks will be increasingly important to voters: school violence.

Deukmejian's lawsuit — filed within a week of Egly's busing decision — is novel. He charges that it is "cruel and unusual punishment to require students to attend violence-torn schools." Part of the complaint charges that the schools have known about the problem and have studied it to death. He argues that the Los Angeles Unified School District has not made the problem a high enough priority.

Deukmejian's suit seeks to have the courts declare as a constitutional principle that students are entitled to a safe school environment. If that is done, then other resources and efforts to reduce school violence will follow, he contends. His lawsuit charges that the Los Angeles city council and the county board of supervisors have been negligent because they failed to appropriate sufficient funds to the police, probation and district attorney departments to reduce violence on the campuses.

With issues like school finance, desegregation, violence and competency testing all destined for more court tests, and with most school funds controlled in Sacramento, it is hardly surprising that many parents feel powerless and alienated from public education decision-making. That sense of alienation may be the biggest problem that educational leaders must confront in the next decade.

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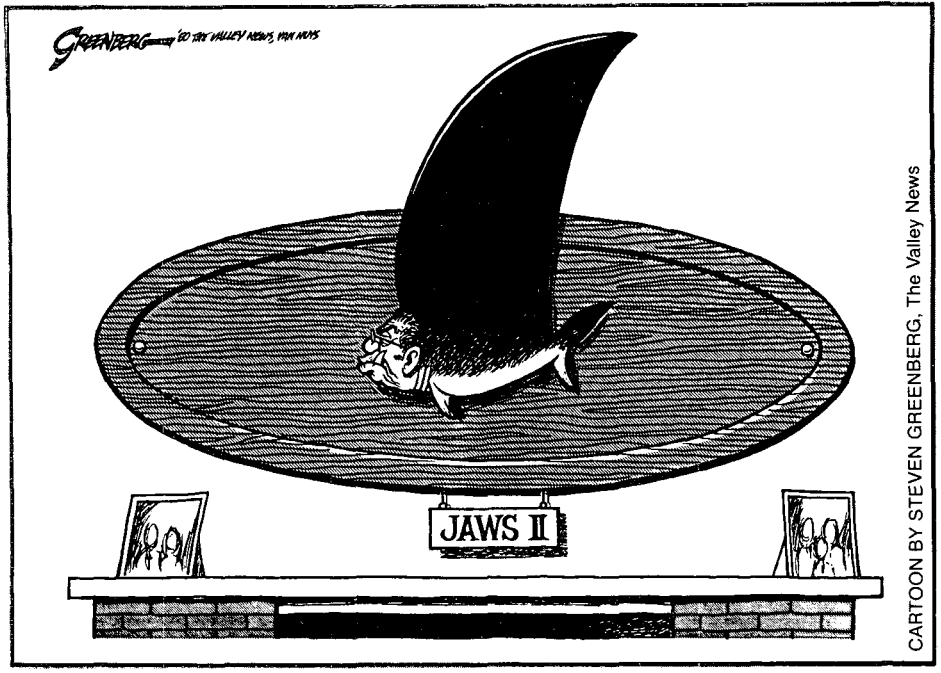

CARTOON BY STEVEN GREENBERG, The Valley News

OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

• An end to initiative fever
• A third-place finish for Carter
• An easy third term for Senator Cranston
• Continued Demo control of the Legislature

By Ed Salzman

If it hadn't been for Howard Jarvis' Proposition 9, this might well have been the year in which California called for an election and nobody came. In fact, half a million of the voters who cast ballots on Proposition 9 didn't even vote in the presidential contest.

Will the November ballot be any more appealing? At this point there appears to be little doubt that the state's electoral votes will go to favorite-son Ronald Reagan. There is even the strong possibility that President Jimmy Carter will finish third behind Independent John Anderson. The United States Senate race looks more like a slow dance. Alan Cranston, hardly the most charismatic of politicians, ought to eradicate Republican Paul Gann, the one-issue candidate who looks and acts 20 years older than Ronald Reagan. The McCarthy-Berman struggle for the Assembly speakership has the juices of political insiders flowing, but the public barely knows that they are not the operators of a San Francisco Irish pub and a Los Angeles Jewish delicatessen.

Even Proposition Fever, which prompted national attention in California politics starting in 1978, seems to have cooled considerably. There will probably be only one initiative on the ballot in November: a repeat of the 1978 contest over smoking in public buildings. To be sure, there are some exciting congressional and Assembly races, but the Senate contests are slower than ever. What will bring out the voters in large numbers in November?

The statistics for the June primary are appalling. About 6.5 million Californians went to the polls, some 61 percent of the 10.7 million registered. This is the lowest turnout for a presidential primary since 1948. Actually, there are about 15.5 million Californians of voting age, and only 42 percent of them participated in the election process in June. This is the lowest in modern history.

Barring a dramatic turnaround in the presidential race (and that's highly possible), Californians will have to look to local issues and candidates to lure them to the polls. Judgeship contests are hotter than ever. There are some dandy supervisor races, topped by the one in Los Angeles between incumbent Baxter Ward and former Assemblyman Mike Antonovich. At the state level, the voters will have to wait until 1982 for excitement. In two years, there should be wild races in both parties for just about every statewide office.

Among the local issues decided in June: Orange County Supervisor Edison Miller, Governor Brown's controversial appointee, was annihilated by Republican Assemblyman Bruce Nestande by a margin of more than 4 - 1. Voters in wealthy San Marino approved a local government tax averaging almost $200 a household. Some incumbent judges were defeated, including three muncipal judges in Los Angeles and Contra Costa Superior Judge Richard P. Calhoun, prime target of conservative state Senator H.L. Richardson.

The name Younger still is magic in Los Angeles. Eric Younger, son of defeated GOP gubernatorial candidate Evelle J. Younger, won a Superior Court seat with an im-

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pressive showing. In Berkeley, Municipal Judge Mario Barsotti, target of the left, easily beat back a recall effort.

This should be a great year for those running local campaigns. Republicans will try to prevent a Democratic reapportionment by capturing the Assembly, and Leo McCarthy and Howard Berman will pull out all the stops for their candidates. As a result, an outrageous amount of cash should be available for about 30 of the Assembly races.

This will be the first general election in which the Libertarian Party is on the ballot as an official party. The Libertarians could play a major role in determining the outcome of some races, and the party's Senate candidate, David Bergland, may get support from those who are not turned on by either Cranston or Gann.

In terms of interest, California paid a heavy price this year for being at the end of the presidential primary road. With the Reagan and Carter nominations locked up prior to June 3rd, the state's presidential balloting was almost irrelevant. Had California been first, the entire Democratic scenario would probably have been dramatically different. But that's a gamble California takes: In another year the issue in one or both parties may be very much alive in early June and Californians will be able, in effect, to select nominees for the entire country.

PRESIDENT

If the polls are anywhere near accurate, California may be almost ignored in the presidential campaign this fall. Does Jimmy Carter have even a decent chance of carrying the state against the home-state hero, Ronald Reagan — especially with Independent John Anderson on the ballot? The polls show Carter and Anderson running neck and neck for the runner-up spot. Most significantly, Anderson has been gaining ground, primarily at the expense of the president.

California voters showed their lack of interest in the presidential contest by staying away from the polls, by skipping the presidential race and by voting for Anderson and the Democratic uncommitted slate. Reagan, as anticipated, swept all of the state's delegate votes. Senator Ted Kennedy was the Democratic winner over Carter, but the president already had the nomination in the bag. The apportionment of Democratic delegates: Kennedy 167; Carter, 139.

The biggest danger for Reagan is that the Carter campaign will collapse entirely in California and that Anderson will take off. With moderate Republicans and liberal Democrats excited about Anderson, Reagan could face a difficult race in California. But there is no track record for an Independent candidate on which to base any speculation. Carter received more than half the Democratic votes in only one congressional District (Fresno). Kennedy didn't top 60 percent, but he came close in the Hispanic area of Los Angeles.

Reagan probably will take California for granted in distributing resources for the campaign. But he will have a strong presence here because he will come home to relax, and many of his key advisers and aides are from California. Carter will probably concentrate on the South and East and virtually concede the west to Reagan. (He couldn't carry the West against Gerald Ford four years ago.) California will be a key state for Anderson. Pollster Mervin Field reports that the Independent label is a big plus among California voters, who have historically avoided strong ties to political parties.

For the June primary, California was little more than a banker. The candidates came to the state early to raise money and to take it back to the early-primary states. By the time the primary parade reached California, the trophies had been awarded and there was no judging of floats left for the nation's largest constituency. In short, the California primary proved only how weak Carter is in the West and how strong Reagan is within his own family.

PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATES

DEMOCRAT

Edmund G. Brown Jr.	134,131	4%
James E. Carter	1,252,291	38%
Edward Kennedy	**1,490,792**	**45%**
Lyndon LaRouche Jr.	70,970	2%
Uncommitted	377,628	11%

REPUBLICAN

John Anderson	342,919	14%
George Bush	122,555	5%
Phillip Crane	22,133	1%
Benjamin Fernandez	9,993	0.4%
Ronald Reagan	**2,015,394**	**80%**

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT

Sean Morton Downey Jr.	10,676	28%
John Rarick	10,193	26%
William K. Shearer	**18,022**	**46%**

PEACE AND FREEDOM

Deirdre Griswold	1,303	14%
Gus Hall	2,364	26%
David McReynolds	1,617	18%
Benjamin Spock	**3,980**	**43%**

Note: Libertarian Ed Clark will appear on the November ballot. John Anderson will attempt to qualify as an Independent, and environmentalist Barry Commoner also may seek a spot on the ballot.

UNITED STATES SENATE

State Senator Ken Maddy is kicking himself these days. He may have missed his opportunity to win a major statewide office. The Fresno Republican probably could have won the GOP United States Senate primary without a great deal of difficulty this year, given the size and quality of the field. And he's about the last Republican incumbent Democrat Alan Cranston would like to be facing this November.

The reason the mediagenic Maddy would probably have won the primary is that the field was extremely weak. Tax-reform crusader Paul Gann was believed to be invincible, so the party heavyweights stayed out of the field. He turned out to be a lightweight, but that was good enough to top politi-

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cal bantamweights Sam Yorty and John Schmitz. The hope of the party moderates, Ray Hanzlik, turned out to be a flyweight with a mere 3 percent of the vote.

The gaunt look

Cranston has been worried about his chances for winning a third term. He knows he isn't exactly the ideal candidate for the era of television, and he is looking especially gaunt these days. He recognizes that the state is turning toward the right, and he has some leftist associations in his political career that can't be erased. And he will never forget his supposedly safe run for a third term as state controller in 1966, when he was defeated by Houston Flournoy.

Gann looked like the ideal candidate for the Republicans — before the campaign started. Like Howard Jarvis, he was a folk hero — or at least that was the conventional wisdom. His age, 67, would not be a problem because Cranston is only one year younger. And he was promised huge sacks of money from some of the business leaders associated with Ronald Reagan. But once the campaign started, it was obvious that Gann was anything but the ideal candidate. He had only one issue — taxing and spending. And he wasn't even articulate when discussing that. He didn't dare debate his opponents, who would have made him look like a fool. Much of the anticipated money failed to materialize. And it turned out that the great fiscal reformer had twice filed bankruptcy to avoid paying his creditors.

Gann won the primary by default. He won 40 percent of the vote to 29 percent for Yorty and 19 for Schmitz. The 71-year-old Yorty, a relatively recent convert to the GOP and now more of a character than a candidate, carried Los Angeles, Riverside and San Bernardino Counties. Gann barely nudged Schmitz, a member of the John Birch Society, in Orange County. Gann did especially well in the north, where Republicans tend to be more liberal. Because of the nature of the opposition, Gann became the moderate candidate in the race. He did best among those Republicans most likely to vote for Cranston in November. A great many Republicans (and Democrats as well) are apt to opt for Libertarian David Bergland. Cranston, on the other hand, shows little weakness within the Democratic Party.

Republican money

Philosophy aside, Cranston should be re-elected by acclamation. He has risen to a position of leadership in the Senate, and he has worked hard on a large number of issues. He has tried to accommodate the entire political spectrum by moving from the left to the center. Business executives have found him more helpful in solving their problems than the Republican senator, S. I. Hayakawa. That's why Cranston is receiving a great deal of money that normally would go to the GOP candidate. Cranston has refused to become institutionalized in Washington, returning home often to meet with his constituents. No problem seems too large or too small to merit his attention. Despite his age and appearance, he is extremely vigorous and still competes in senior track events to prove that he is fit. (With Ronald Reagan running for president at 69, Cranston's age no longer would appear to be a problem.)

But Cranston does have liberal credentials that can be attacked by the Republicans. That's one reason why conservative organizations have placed Cranston on the target list for 1980. (Cranston says the main reason he was placed on the list was so the conservative Republicans could have a target in California to use in their fund-raising efforts within the state. Most of the money raised in California will be spent elsewhere, he predicted.) Cranston was a leader in the United World Federalists and he was the founder of the liberal California Democratic Council. For years he was recognized as the liberal leader of the state. On many issues in the Senate, he has voted as a member of the liberal bloc. However, he no longer employs the rhetoric of the left. He has taken the conservative side on some issues, and it is no longer possible to brand him as a knee-jerk liberal and back up the charge with the record.

Gann's chance of winning is not good, but it is possible. He will be helped by the efficient fund-raising machine of conservative state Senator H. L. Richardson. If Ronald Reagan develops long coattails in California, Gann could be the prime beneficiary. If he can raise enough money, Gann could run a slashing media campaign attacking Cranston as a big spender and emphasizing the incumbent's liberal associations.

Dull and duller

The defeat of Proposition 9 hurt Gann. The myth that he and Howard Jarvis were invincible has been shattered. He won the primary only because none of the party's heavyweights entered the race. Six years ago, Cranston was fortunate enough to have the ultra-conservative Richardson as his opponent. Cranston won by almost 1.5 million votes. The margin could be in the same ball park this time.

For the voters, this will be a contest between dull and duller. Cranston, who has boundless energy, is about as colorless as politicians come. Gann, who has occasional difficulty putting words together grammatically, looks and acts like a member of the geriatric set. If the California voters are looking for excitement in a United States Senate race, they will have to wait until 1982 when it appears that heavyweights from both parties will charge after the state's 74-year-old junior senator, S. I. Hayakawa.

UNITED STATES SENATOR

DEMOCRAT		
Alan Cranston (Inc.)	**2,571,293**	**80%**
Richard Morgan	344,957	11%
David T. Rees	109,351	3%
Frank L. Thomas	192,723	6%
REPUBLICAN		
Paul Gann	**915,768**	**40%**
Ray Hanzlik	74,656	3%
Brian Hyndman	50,264	2%
John G. Schmitz	433,112	19%
Philip Schwartz	69,103	3%
James A. Ware	93,479	4%
Sam Yorty	653,361	29%
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Jim Griffin	**21,759**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
David Wald	**8,148**	
LIBERTARIAN		
David Bergland	**13,982**	

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PROPOSITIONS

California voters accomplished at least two things on June 3rd: They overcame what had appeared to be a chronic case of initiative fever, and they shattered the myth of Howard Jarvis' invincibility.

Ever since the overwhelming success of Proposition 13 two years ago, Jarvis has been riding high. The 77-year-old curmudgeon had been a monumental political failure all his life until he happened to pick up the beat of the middle class in 1978 and got in front of the tax-revolt parade. But last month the voters cried "Enough!" They defeated three propositions sponsored by Jarvis, by Governor Brown and by the state's super-powerful real-estate establishment.

Why did the public respond so enthusiastically to Jarvis' measure cutting property taxes and then whip him soundly on Proposition 9, which would have cut the state income tax in half? Here are some of the reasons:

- Two years ago, homeowners were in a state of hysteria over skyrocketing assessments. The state surplus was enormous. Even public employees did not believe predictions of gloom and doom made by Jarvis opponents. This year, there was no such emotion over the income tax, which is collected piecemeal in paychecks. The state's surplus is evaporating rapidly. The constituent groups with a stake in defeating Proposition 9 were more numerous than those threatened by 13 — especially among senior citizens and families with college students. Organizations convinced their members that services to such groups would be cut significantly if Proposition 9 were approved.
- In 1978, the media treated Howard Jarvis like a loudmouth messiah who had come to lead the cheers of the taxpayer against the government monster. In 1980, the media reacted differently to Jarvis' salty language and bully tactics. He was viewed as an outrage and a discredit to his own campaign, managed by the Butcher-Forde organization.

PROPOSITION 1 *($495 million park bond issue)*		
For	2,753,406	47%
Against	**3,107,619**	**53%**
PROPOSITION 2 *($750 million Cal-Vet bond issue)*		
For	**3,885,194**	**66%**
Against	2,045,294	34%
PROPOSITION 3 *(State Capitol alterations)*		
For	**2,918,413**	**51%**
Against	2,819,658	49%
PROPOSITION 4 *(Public housing vote)*		
For	2,131,733	37%
Against	**3,688,542**	**63%**
PROPOSITION 5 *(Confidentiality of news sorces)*		
For	**4,370,244**	**73%**
Against	1,588,277	27%
PROPOSITION 6 *(Reapportionment guidelines)*		
For	**2,937,571**	**55%**
Against	2,434,148	45%
PROPOSITION 7 *(Disaster assistance)*		
For	**4,896,323**	**83%**
Against	1,010,082	17%
PROPOSITION 8 *(Energy revenue bonds)*		
For	**2,847,617**	**50.2%**
Against	2,826,117	49.8%
PROPOSITION 9 *(Income-tax-reduction initiative)*		
For	2,491,033	39%
Against	**3,876,854**	**61%**
PROPOSITION 10 *(Rent-control initiative)*		
For	2,205,840	35%
Against	**4,030,973**	**65%**
PROPOSITION 11 *(Oil company-surtax initiative)*		
For	2,775,107	44%
Against	**3,480,191**	**56%**

- The opponents, including Jerry Brown, did an effective job of convincing people that Proposition 9 would be of prime benefit to the wealthy.
- With the economy in unstable condition, some Californians were uneasy about rocking the boat even further. (This also may account in part for the defeat of Proposition 11.)

A return to normal

Jaws II carried only one county, Glenn, and then by a very slim margin. It went down statewide, 39 to 61 percent, and even failed to carry Orange County (49 - 51). Perhaps the biggest turnaround came in Sacramento County, where the economy is based on state government. Sacramento voters in 1978 approved Proposition 13, but Jarvis II went down, 27 - 73, in June. Only adjacent Yolo County with its large university population posted a wider margin (21 - 79).

Does this mean that the initiative movement is over or that the tax revolt has run its course? Hardly. It does mean that the initiative process will return to normal, and voters will still decide some issues each year. There will undoubtedly be further attempts to cut taxes via the initiative process. But no longer will the sponsors of those measures feel that their task will be automatic, a la Proposition 13 and Paul Gann's "Spirit of 13" government-spending limitation. The sponsors of initiatives have not been doing well qualifying them for the ballot in recent months (see box).

California voters apparently are not angry enough to pass drastic measures these days. They are bored with the public figures on the horizon — the Carters, Kennedys, Jarvises and Ganns. That, as much as anything, may explain why all three initiatives were defeated in June.

How can the fate of 10 and 11 be explained? The pro-10 and anti-11 campaigns were both managed by the same firm, Woodward-McDowell-Larson of San Francisco. Both campaigns had the same huge bankroll from which to draw, and both used roughly the same campaign techniques. Both were defeated.

It is not too difficult to explain why Proposition 10 went down to defeat by an overwhelming margin, 35 - 65. The proponents tried to sell it as a "reasonable" rent-control law that would promote the construction of housing units. The renters, alarmed over rising costs despite landlord savings from Proposition 13, were not fooled. They could see that the measure was designed to prevent any effective rent-control plans and they voted accordingly. Owners of mobilehomes were especially active in the "no" campaign. Only three counties gave Proposition 10 more than 40 percent of the vote: Marin, Orange and San Mateo.

Proposition 11, launched by an aide to Jerry Brown, seemed to have the right motto for our times: "Tax Pig Oil." But the opposition came up with a campaign alleging that it would take some $100 million to administer the $350 million tax and that the revenues would be distributed by "bumblers" in Sacramento. That kind of simplistic deception didn't work in the Proposition 10 campaign, but it apparently convinced enough voters to lick the measure, 44 - 56. History indicates that big money can lick an initiative but cannot pass one.

Also, the people are smarter than some politicians think they are. The typical voter understood that the oil-company tax would eventually come out of their pockets. There is no free lunch at the gas pump, of all places. Proposition 11 carried six Northern California counties — Alameda, Humboldt, San Francisco, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz and Yolo. Los Angeles, with 44 - 56, was right in line with the state as a whole. It may well be that the state's largest county is also

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the best indicator of the political mood.

Voters showed their concern over spending by rejecting a park bond measure, Proposition 1, for the first time since 1962. The news reporters' "shield law" was given an overwhelming endorsement, and the proposal to eliminate the mandatory local vote on low-rent housing projects met its usual negative fate.

But the most significant event in the primary was the rejection of Jaws II. Howard Jarvis immediately exhibited his usual bravado by indicating that he will propose two initiatives for 1982 — one to cut government spending and another to curb pension excesses. Will the public send money the next time Butcher-Forde mails computer appeals signed by Jarvis? Will the firm have to devote more of its efforts to its other clients? And if Jarvis fails with two for '82, will he go for four in '84?

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

This is an unusual year of opportunity for both political parties within the state's 43 congressional districts. It is even possible for the Republicans to capture a majority of the delegation, now 25 - 18 in favor of the Democrats. But there are also some doubtful Republican seats, and the Democrats are not totally in a defensive position. One Democratic incumbent, scandal-damaged Charles Wilson, was demolished in the primary. His district is heavily Democratic, and the nominee of the party, former Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally, is on his way to Washington.

Four Democratic incumbents will be prime targets in November — James Corman in the San Fernando Valley, John Burton in San Francisco and environs, Bizz Johnson in the cow counties and Jim Lloyd in the Covina-Claremont smog zone. The Republicans appearing to be in the most trouble are Don Clausen on the north coast and Bob Dornan on the Los Angeles shoreline. In addition, the GOP won't find it easy to hold the seat vacated by the veteran Bob Wilson of San Diego because the Democratic nominee is state Senator Bob Wilson. There are also four GOP freshmen who have to prove their solidarity at the polls.

DISTRICT 1 (54%D - 35%R)

Johnson (Inc. D)	80,097	(73%)
Gavagan (D)	3,956	(4%)
Loree (D)	8,072	(7%)
Murphy (D)	17,166	(16%)
Chappie (R)	69,161	
McClarin (L)	495	

Voters in the northern counties will be forced to choose between two of their favorite politicians, delegation dean Bizz Johnson, 62, and veteran Assemblyman Eugene Chappie, 60. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 2 (54%D - 33%R)

Clausen (Inc. R)	62,062	
Bork (D)	45,607	(43%)
Kahn (D)	39,658	(37%)
Koethke (D)	6,844	(6%)
Windrem (D)	15,071	(14%)
Wren (P&F)	570	
Beary (L)	180	(42%)
Mosier (L)	244	(58%)

Republican Don Clausen has displayed vulnerability in past elections, including his slim 1978 defeat of Norma Bork. She never stopped running and had to work hard to defeat Sonoma Supervisor Brian Kahn. Clausen will work hard to stay alive. Note the Libertarian primary contest. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 3 (59%D - 31%R)

Matsui (Inc. D)	94,225	(89%)
Lenci (D)	11,812	(11%)
Marsh (R)	13,137	(24%)
Murphy (R)	27,327	(50%)
Vandegriff (R)	14,681	(27%)
Daniel (L)	143	

Freshman Bob Matsui of Sacramento has an easy second run. His opponent, Joseph Murphy, withdrew from the campaign before the primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (60%D-29%R)

Fazio (Inc. D)	70,885	(80%)
Cowley (D)	17,990	(20%)
Biffel (R)	6,379	(16%)

Initiative temperature back to normal

California's case of initiative fever is over — at least temporarily. There is only one initiative — a measure designed to restrict smoking in public buildings — with a chance of qualifying for the November ballot. Several highly publicized signature-collection drives have ended in failure, although there are a few initiative proposals with a chance to qualify for the June 1982 ballot. Here is the current status of 11 initiative campaigns:

Subject	Sponsor	Description	Status
Smoking	Dr. Raymond Weisberg	Restricts smoking in public places.	May qualify for November ballot.
Inheritance taxes	David Miller	Repeals inheritance taxes.	Possible for 6/82 ballot
Emergency services	Walter Meagher	Prevents cuts in police, fire and emergency-health services.	Possible for 6/82 ballot
Busing	State Senator Alan Robbins	Helps opponents of busing for desegregation.	Possible for 6/82 ballot
Judges	State Senator H.L. Richardson	Makes major changes in judicial elections.	Possible for 6/82 ballot
Tax credit	National Taxpayers Union	Provides $1,200 state income-tax credit for educational expenses.	Possible for 6/82 ballot
Tax Simplicity Act	California Tax Reform Association	Redistributes income tax burden, raises corporate taxes.	Dead
GOP primary	State Senator John Schmitz	Eliminates winner-take-all presidential primary.	Dead
Sales tax	Leroy Bonham	Eliminates sales tax on gasoline.	Dead
Marijuana	Leo Paoli	Decriminalizes personal marijuana use or cultivation.	Dead
Environment	Peter Behr, David Brower	Enacts "environmental bill of rights."	Dead

GUIDE TO TABLES

The election results used in this analysis are from the semi-official canvass conducted by the secretary of state's office. The numbers after each district are the registration percentages for the primary election. Names printed in **bold** characters are the winners.

Abbreviations: Inc. for Incumbent, D for Democrat, R for Republican, L for Libertarian, AIP for American Independent Party, P&F for Peace and Freedom Party.

Note: In some districts where there were no candidates for a party nomination listed on the June ballot, individuals may have qualified for the November election via the write-in process.

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Dehr (R)	20,803	(53%)
Taylor (R)	11,966	(31%)
Burnside (L)	210	

Democrat Vic Fazio of West Sacramento is a professional politician who works his territory artfully. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (54%D - 27%R)

J. Burton (Inc. D)	59,717	
McQuaid (R)	35,130	
Dougherty (L)	701	

The Republican Party has decided to aim heavy artillery at the younger of the Burton brothers, John. Attorney Dennis McQuaid hopes to embarrass Burton by showing films of the congressman in action. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 6 (65%D - 19%R)

P. Burton (Inc. D)	57,316	(81%)
Barnes (D)	8,102	(12%)
Uskert (D)	5,189	(7%)
Bloyer (R)	6,246	(37%)
Spinosa (R)	10,442	(63%)
Childs (L)	472	

Phil Burton has not given up hope of landing a leadership post in the House. He has no trouble in his district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (58%D - 32%R)

Miller (Inc. D)	81,719	(85%)
Malick (D)	14,195	(15%)
St. Clair (R)	44,255	
Thompson (AIP)	664	
Snow (L)	275	

George Miller of Contra Costa County is becoming almost as entrenched in Congress as was his father in the state Senate more than a decade ago. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (61%D - 27%R)

Dellums (Inc. D)	71,342	
Chandler (R)	6,271	(16%)
Hughes (R)	33,206	(84%)
Mikuriya (L)	497	

Outspoken Ronald Dellums carried this Berkeley-based district by less than 25,000 votes two years ago, a sign of weakness. But the Democratic registration is strong enough to prevent a GOP victory. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (62%D - 28%R)

Stark (Inc. D)	65,940	
Kennedy (R)	31,576	
Clanin (L)	144	

Millionaire former banker Pete Stark is getting itchy, and he may try to run for statewide office in 1982. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (62%D - 25%R)

Edwards (Inc. D)	63,960	
Lutton (R)	24,550	
Kaiser (AIP)	472	
Fuhrig (L)	214	

Don Edwards has become an institution at the southeast corner of San Francisco Bay. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (56%D - 33%R)

Royer (Inc. R)	44,748	
Lantos(D)	52,207	
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	434	
Branch (P&F)	147	
Wade (L)	314	

Republican Bill Royer won a hard-fought special election to succeed Democrat Leo Ryan, assassinated in Guyana. Whether he will be tested depends on the amount of cash available to jack-of-many-trades Tom Lantos. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 12 (50%D - 38%R)

McCloskey (Inc. R)	51,219	(80%)
Cole (R)	13,185	(20%)
Olsen (D)	34,243	(61%)
Strassman (D)	22,025	(39%)
Fumino (P&F)	171	
Evers (L)	523	

The controversial Pete McCloskey is revered in the precincts around Stanford University by Democrats and Republicans alike. He keeps sending up trial balloons about a run for major office. Perhaps in 1982 a balloon will take off. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 13 (51%D - 37%R)

Mineta (Inc. D)	68,434	
Gagne (R)	40,946	
Goldsborough (P&F)	141	
Strong (L)	438	

New state Senator Dan O'Keefe gave Norm Mineta a good race two years ago. This one should be easier for the former mayor of San Jose, who has been moving slowly up the ladder in Washington. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (56%D - 35%R)

Shumway (Inc. R)	51,215	
Cerney (D)	41,722	(53%)
Richards (D)	36,489	(47%)
Housley (L)	123	

Republican Norman Shumway took this seat in 1978 from a scandalized Democrat. This year he must win without that advantage. His opponent, Ann Cerney, is a school trustee but may be too liberal for a valley constituency. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 15 (62%D - 30%R)

Coelho (Inc. D)	55,478	
Schwartz (R)	17,790	
Pullen (L)	66	

Unless Tony Coelho does something outrageous, he could serve this Fresno district for decades. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 16 (51%D - 35%R)

Panetta (Inc. D)	76,382	
Roth (R)	42,654	
Mauro (AIP)	653	
Bowers (L)	406	

Democrat Leon Panetta has proved to Republicans that he's for real and was not a fluke winner in this marginal district. This time, he'll probably not be targeted. Nevertheless, he could be caught in a GOP landslide. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (56%D-36%R)

Pashayan (Inc. R)	39,520	
Creighton (D)	14,334	(22%)
Garza (D)	12,712	(19%)
Johnson (D)	38,482	(59%)

Democrats claim freshman Chip Pashayan of Fresno is very vulnerable – if only the right opponent can be found. County Supervisor Bill Johnson has a chance to prove he's the right opponent. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 18 (54%D - 38%R)

Thomas (Inc. R)	47,250	(86%)
Berry (R)	7,955	(14%)
Gorelick (D)	18,846	(34%)
Timmermans (D)	36,999	(66%)

Republican Bill Thomas is a young master of the Kern County political game. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 19 (51%D - 36%R)

Lagomarsino (Inc. R)	53,049	
Lodise (D)	45,955	
Trotter (L)	253	

For elected officials other than Republican Bob Lagomarsino, the Santa Barbara-Ventura area is politically volatile. Lagomarsino never has any trouble getting re-elected. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 20 (48%D - 43%R)

Goldwater (Inc. R)	68,360	
Miller (D)	42,033	
Darwin (L)	279	

Barry Goldwater Jr. probably can hold this seat indefinitely. The question is when he will have the guts to use his magic name to seek statewide office. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (61%D - 31%R)

Corman (Inc. D)	38,876	
Fiedler (R)	23,423	(74%)
O'Brien (R)	8,404	(26%)
Tucker (P&F)	110	
Lehmann (L)	172	

This district will be the scene of one of the most bruising battles of the year. (See article in this section.) Veteran liberal James Corman may not survive against anti-busing crusader Bobbi Fiedler. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 22 (46%D - 47%R)

Moorhead (Inc. R)	53,416	
O'Donnell (D)	28,291	(68%)
Sapiro (D)	13,471	(32%)
Susel (L)	249	

If this were not so overwhelming a Republican area, colorless Carlos Moorhead might have trouble against aggressive Democrat Pierce O'Donnell, who is too liberal for the

John Burton **McQuaid** **Bork**

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territory. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (62%D - 30%R)

Beilenson (Inc. D)	66,021	(85%)
Anderson (D)	11,324	(15%)
Winckler (F)	25,985	
Lieb (L)	336	

Democrat Anthony Beilenson is generally recognized as one of the state's most competent officeholders. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (61%D - 28%R)

Waxman (Inc. D)	42,781	
Cayard (R)	12,238	(50.3%)
Zerg (R)	12,069	(49.7%)
Smilowitz (AIP)	162	
Feigin (P&F)	240	
Lehman (L)	331	

Re-election is a breeze for Henry Waxman. He's concentrating on getting his political partner, Howard Berman, chosen speaker of the Assembly. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (71% - 20%R)

Roybal (Inc. D)	24,394	
Ferraro (R)	8,015	
Mitchell (L)	93	

Even scandal cannot disturb this district's love affair with Ed Roybal. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (46%D - 46%R)

Rousselot (Inc. R)	49,366	
Lisoni (D)	26,052	
Wagener (L)	188	

Conservative Republican John Rousselot is such a nice guy that even Democrats in his district like him. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 27 (48%D - 41%R)

Dornan (Inc. R)	50,800	
Alkire (D)	6,937	(11%)
Dubin (D)	15,283	(24%)
Peck (D)	41,643	(65%)
Sievers (L)	461	

The results of the Democratic primary should scare colorful Bob Dornan, who barely defeated Carey Peck, son of actor Gregory Peck, two years ago. Attorney Gary Dubin spent a fortune trying to defeat Peck in the primary and didn't even come close. This district has a moderate Republican tradition. Dornan is too conservative for the area but he has won with his GOP label. This time it could go the other way. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 28 (76%D - 17%R)

Dixon (Inc. D)	49,702	
Gladnick (R)	3,985	(32%)
Reid (R)	8,376	(68%)
Gherman (L)	144	

Democrat Julian Dixon probably will spend many a term in Washington. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (85%D - 10%R)

Hawkins (Inc. D)	37,255	
Hirt (R)	4,041	
Smith (L)	25	

Black politicians in Los Angeles are growing old waiting for the 72-year-old Augustus Hawkins to retire so they can run for his seat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (72%D - 21%R)

Danielson (Inc. D)	33,002	
Platten (R)	12,040	
Hobbs (L)	105	

The 65-year-old George Danielson could be significantly affected by redistricting next year. He's in good shape this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

Clausen **Peck** **Dornan**

DISTRICT 31 (75%D - 18%R)

Wilson (Inc. D)	9,153	(15%)
Dymally (D)	29,533	(49%)
Gary (D)	2,200	(4%)
Hannaford (D)	14,258	(24%)
Henschel (D)	4,876	(8%)
Grimshaw (R)	6,953	(55%)
Johnston (R)	5,591	(45%)

Scandalized veteran Charles Wilson pulled only 15 percent of the vote from his once-solid constituency. Former Lieutenant Governor Dymally showed tremendous popularity in defeating not only Wilson but also former Congressman Mark Hannaford, who ran a slashing campaign against both of his major opponents. The GOP has no chance in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (63%D - 28%R)

Anderson (Inc. D)	42,709	(85%)
Jamison (D)	7,773	(15%)
Adler (R)	13,909	(62%)
Bader (R)	8,722	(38%)
Cosgrove (L)	141	

It seems almost incredible that former Lieutenant Governor Glenn Anderson is alive and well on the California political scene. First elected to the Legislature almost 40 years ago, he's still only 67. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 33 (55%D - 38%R)

Grisham (Inc. R)	38,460	(75%)
Manicone (R)	12,536	(25%)
Anderson (D)	24,725	(45%)
Mull (D)	8,849	(16%)
Servelle (D)	21,551	(39%)

Republican Wayne Grisham captured this marginal seat two years ago, now must prove his staying power against accountant Fred Anderson. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (53%D - 38%R)

Lungren (Inc. R)	47,852	
Lynch (D)	16,103	(27%)
Mc Nab (D)	12,378	(20%)
Simone (D)	20,129	(33%)
Yachimowicz (D)	12,447	(20%)
Donohue (P&F)	82	

Republican Dan Lungren will be hard to beat, even by an opponent with only one name – Simone, an attorney for senior citizens. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 35 (51%D - 40%R)

Lloyd (Inc. D)	47,724	(74%)
Anderson (D)	17,152	(26%)
Blewett (R)	8,578	(15%)
Dreier (R)	31,465	(53%)
Feldman (R)	3,933	(7%)
Hollywood (R)	3,970	(7%)
Livingston (R)	7,876	(13%)
Osoff (R)	3,460	(6%)
Noonan (P&F)	99	

Democrat Jim Lloyd has always been a tempting GOP target. He managed to defeat David Dreier, a college administrator, by only 12,000 votes two years ago. Dreier could win this time. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 36 (58%D - 31%R)

Brown (Inc. D)	51,039	(75%)
Wedge (D)	17,492	(25%)
Mansfield (R)	11,527	(29%)
Stark (R)	15,245	(39%)
Vallen (R)	12,403	(32%)
Histen (L)	289	

The veteran George Brown shows no major signs of weakness, but economic conditions might force him to run a bit harder this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 37 (48%D - 42%R)

Lewis (Inc. R)	67,012	(83%)
Beardsley (R)	4,821	(6%)
Maciejewski (R)	3,182	(4%)
Mathewson (R)	5,740	(7%)
Rusk (D)	63,982	
Morris (L)	268	

This San Bernardino-Riverside area has a GOP tradition, and Jerry Lewis should win a second term. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (53%D - 35%R)

Patterson (Inc. D)	46,567	
Jacobson (R)	19,714	(57%)
Wiley (R)	14,720	(43%)
Heiser (L)	630	

Democrat Jerry Patterson usually runs ahead of his party in this Orange County district. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 39 (43%D - 47%R)

Dannemeyer (Inc. R)	60,287	
Lahtinen (D)	41,922	

Former Democrat Bill Dannemeyer has a lock on his seat from this Republican stronghold. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (37%D - 49%R)

Badham (Inc. R)	87,937	(76%)
Gardner (R)	23,317	(20%)

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Will Bustop ride to Congress?

By Laura Remson Mitchell

To people outside the San Fernando Valley, it might seem inconceivable that 20-year veteran Congressman James C. Corman should now be facing one of his toughest challenges from a woman whose political career began just three years ago with her election to the Los Angeles school board. It's not surprising to local observers, however.

Corman's diverse 21st District is the only congressional district that lies entirely within the Valley. The ranking Californian on the House Ways and Means Committee, Corman also chairs the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. He is therefore a tempting target for Republicans, despite the fact that his power and the district's 60 percent Democratic registration might normally be considered signs of invulnerability. In Bobbi Fiedler, Republicans see their best shot at beating Corman in many years.

Fiedler came to the attention of Los Angeles residents as a leader in the fight against mandatory school desegregation and co-founder of Bustop, the area's most influential anti-busing organization. In 1977, she defeated liberal incumbent Robert L. Docter for a seat on the school board, where she has remained a staunch opponent of mandatory busing. She was also an early supporter of Proposition 13, which won overwhelming support throughout the Valley. She is articulate, hard-working and strongest on the issues with the greatest emotional impact on local voters.

Corman is a long-time supporter of busing as a tool in school desegregation cases, and he opposed Proposition 13. He is generally considered a liberal, although he probably is not as liberal as the Fiedler campaign will try to make him appear. A member of the House Committee on Small Business, he has maintained good relations with business and industrial leaders, and some political observers consider his district staff one of the best in the Valley.

Laura Remson Mitchell is a freelance writer in the San Fernando Valley.

In some ways, the strengths and weaknesses of each candidate are flip sides of the same coin. Fiedler's leadership in the anti-busing movement has catapulted her to public attention, but it has also branded her as a one-issue candidate. Corman has experience and power in Congress, along with a solid record covering a wide range of issues. But his record is a liberal one, and the political tide has turned more conservative.

A blue-collar district

Unlike the relatively affluent Encino area in the south Valley where Fiedler got her start, the 21st District is heavily blue-collar. It also includes many senior citizens and the most concentrated pockets of minorities in the Valley. Northridge, where Fiedler now lives, is about the closest the district comes to the socioeconomic characteristics of her former home-base.

It is uncertain whether this mixture of voters will work more to Fiedler's advantage or Corman's. Arnold Steinberg, who managed Fiedler's school board bid and now is running her congressional campaign, feels the district is essentially "what we all loosely call the middle class." These are the people who earn too much to benefit from liberal welfare programs but not enough to feel they can afford paying for those programs through their taxes, he says.

"When there's busing, their kids are bused," Steinberg points out. "They don't have the money to put them in private schools."

Busing is clearly an underlying factor in this campaign — as a symbol, if nothing else — but Steinberg says the main issue is inflation. He cites Corman support of "increases in the federal budget and deficit spending," adding that Corman, "as a matter of policy, favors a greater public sector and favors the taxes to go along with it." That's a philosophy Steinberg believes the voters will reject.

Corman forces read the the district a little differently. Black and Hispanic voters "are very pro-Corman," according to Clinton Reilly, Corman's campaign manager. The district's Hispanic population, especially, has grown significantly since 1960. A big Hispanic turnout on election day could prove important. Corman also does well among renters, who account for about 50 percent of the housing in the district, according to Reilly.

Unfortunately for Corman, however, all of these groups tend to be underrepresented at the polls. For example, Reilly says, "25 percent of the population in the district is Hispanic. Seven percent of the voters are Hispanic." It will take a serious effort to get members of these groups to register and vote.

On the other hand, Reilly feels that older voters, who have known Corman for a long time, will tend to be loyal to him. This group also is most likely to vote, he says. He estimates that roughly half of those who cast ballots in the district are age 45 or older.

In the past, Corman has enjoyed strong support from Jews, who traditionally have tended to be liberal. But busing and such other issues as affirmative action and developments in the Middle East have caused some Jews to move to the right. The prominence of Fiedler and other Jews in the anti-bus-

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ing movement symbolizes this ideological break from Jewish liberals. If it is widespread in the district, the new mood of conservatism could erode Corman's Jewish support on election day. However, it is worth noting that many of Fiedler's Jewish supporters live outside the 21st Congressional District.

Both sides in the contest agree that it will be a tough battle. Despite its Democratic edge in registration, the district has provided some political surprises. Two years ago, for example, Republican Robert Hayes upset incumbent Democrat Jim Keysor in the 39th Assembly District, which lies within the 21st Congressional District. Democrat Alan Robbins, a Fiedler ally on the busing issue, represents most of the area in the state Senate. Thus far, Robbins has remained neutral on the congressional race.

In 1978, Corman easily defeated underfinanced Republican challenger Rod Walsh by winning nearly 60 percent of the votes cast. Still, Corman's total represented a drop from his 1976 tally of 66.5 percent and his 1974 vote of 73.5 percent. Thus, despite his strong showing in 1978, Corman's dwindling margins of victory made him look more vulnerable. This time, the Republicans hope to come out ahead.

The Fiedler campaign strategy has seemed clear from the start: Depict Corman as an extreme liberal who is out of touch with his constituents, someone who can't identify with their problems and concerns. "I couldn't think of a better record to run against," Steinberg says. "He's clearly and consistently an ideological liberal."

Steinberg who also is running Robert Dornan's congressional campaign, has worked for conservative candidates not only in California but also in other states. Like Richard Viguerie, a Virginia-based fund-raiser for conservative causes, Steinberg raises a lot of money through direct-mail appeals. This contest is no exception.

"This effort here is a little slow getting started," he says. "We had a great success with Bustop, really a textbook case. We started from nothing, and we raised $700,000."

Reilly's San Francisco-based firm has run numerous campaigns, including those of Quentin Kopp for mayor of San Francisco, Richard Hongisto for sheriff of San Francisco and Robert Matsui for Congress. Reilly is reluctant to speak on the record about the Corman campaign strategy, but it is evident that Corman is not about to become just a pawn in the Fiedler game plan.

If the Jim Corman described by the Fiedler forces is out of touch, the Jim Corman described by his own campaign is very much a man of the people. For example, an eight-page campaign piece titled "The Jim Corman Story" briefly describes Corman's childhood, youth, military service and early years as a Van Nuys lawyer and as the first Los Angeles City Council member from the Valley. It also lists a wide range of issues with which Corman has been involved in Congress. These include the space program, anti-crime legislation, human rights, senior citizens, national health insurance, welfare reform and tax reform. He is a "fighter for the working family," according to the literature.

While Fiedler can appeal to voter disenchantment with government by attacking Corman's liberal record, Corman can pit his 20 years of national experience against her three years on the local school board. He can compare his power to get things done for the district with the relatively weak position Fiedler would be in as a freshman congresswoman from a minority party. He can emphasize Fiedler's one-issue image, asserting that her issue (mandatory school desegregation) is most properly dealt with right where Fiedler is now — on the Los Angeles school board.

Fiedler already has run into trouble trying to overcome her one-issue image. When she announced her candidacy in March, she tried to emphasize economic issues and Corman's liberal record. She was caught unprepared by reporters' questions about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and about extending unemployment benefits for those laid off when General Motors closed its plant in South Gate. Neither matter directly affected the 21st Congressional District, but both were issues that could involve congressional action. Furthermore, since GM has a large plant in Van Nuys, someone hoping to represent the area might be expected to be familiar with major changes in the company's operations that could affect employment.

In any case, Fiedler is a potent force when she's on familiar ground. If she can make ideology the overriding factor of the election — especially as reflected by the candidates' positions on busing and government spending — she will probably win. On the other hand, if experience and effectiveness are the deciding factors, Corman will win. Thus the key to victory in November may depend a great deal on who sets the tone for the campaign.

Unforeseen circumstances can come into play too. If inflation continues to be the major economic concern between now and election day, Fiedler's opposition to big government and her support of generally conservative approaches to tax and spending issues probably will meet with voter approval. But if the long-awaited recession deepens, and if the threat of unemployment overshadows inflation as an issue, the story may be very different. While people may see government as the villain when it comes to inflation, they have tended to seek government help in times of high unemployment. A major economic downturn may therefore weaken the "big government" argument as a weapon against Corman.

Developments in the Los Angeles school desegregation case also could affect the tone of the election. For example, a decision announced by Judge Paul Egly in May requires the school board to draft a plan that will, in effect, reduce busing distances but expand the program to cover grades 1 through 9 this fall and eventually grades 10 through 12 as well. (The current plan affects only grades 4 through 8.)

Fiedler and her anti-busing colleagues on the school board immediately announced their intention to appeal the decision and to fight it all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary. Fiedler also took advantage of the opportunity to tie the decision to an anti-busing bill pending in Congress. The resulting headline in the *Valley News* read, "Fiedler takes busing to Congress."

The new court decision may give added life to busing as a factor in the election — especially among parents of elementary children. However, the *Valley News* reported that early reaction from parents whose children are already involved in the busing program was generally favorable. Another dilemma for Fiedler is that if she concen-

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trates a great deal on fighting the new desegregation decision, she will have less time to familiarize herself with broader issues, increasing the risk of again reinforcing her one-issue image.

Money is the biggest hurdle for the Fiedler campaign. "I believe that we will need to have spent by election day a minimum of $300,000," Steinberg says.

In addition to the direct-mail campaign and fundraising events, the Fiedler forces have been going after donations from political action committees (PACs), primarily from business and industry.

Steinberg adds that some PACs have been contributing to both candidates, "which has been very disappointing . . . When somebody gives money to both of us, it really dilutes the money that's coming to us."

On the Corman side, Reilly says simply that they will raise "whatever we have to spend."

Steinberg thinks the biggest significance of this race outside the district is that "we are going against the chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee." Chairmen of such committees in both parties tend to be viewed as invincible, he points out.

Nevertheless, Reilly remains confident. "I think it's a very, very difficult election," he says. "But between you and me, I think if there's any overestimating going on, it's overestimation of Fiedler, and if there's any underestimating going on, it's an underestimation of Jim Corman."

This year's presidential primaries demonstrated how voters can make fools of the political prognosticators. Furthermore, the presence on the ballot of Peace and Freedom party candidate Jan B. Tucker and Libertarian George Lehmann could affect the final result in a close election.

House of Representatives
Continued from page 279

Utter (R)	5,259	(5%)
Dow (D)	33,257	(55%)
Roman (D)	27,637	(45%)
Mahaffey (L)	1,222	

Republican Bob Badham probably needs to worry more about the Libertarians than the Democrats in this conservative Orange County district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 41 (47%D - 38%R)

Bates (D)	31,711	(42%)
Buckley (D)	2,534	(3%)
Sanders (D)	3,208	(4%)
Wilson (D)	37,840	(50%)
Gomez (R)	2,033	(3%)
Lowery (R)	36,411	(50%)
McKinnon (R)	33,645	(46%)
Workman (R)	1,453	(2%)

Alldredge (L)	386	

The retirement of veteran Republican Bob Wilson precipitated primary warfare in both primaries. State Senator Bob Wilson defeated San Diego Supervisor Jim Bates, and GOP regular Bill Lowery fought off a media blitz by broadcaster Dan McKinnon. Question: How valuable is the Wilson name? DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 42 (57%D - 29%R)

Van Deerlin (Inc. D)	42,933	(76%)
Bagwell (D)	6,336	(11%)
Bodle (D)	6,989	(12%)
Hunter (R)	15,588	(52%)
McQuillen (R)	14,429	(48%)

This is rumored to be the final term for 66-year-old Lionel Van Deerlin, who specializes in the communications field. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 43 (43%D - 44%R)

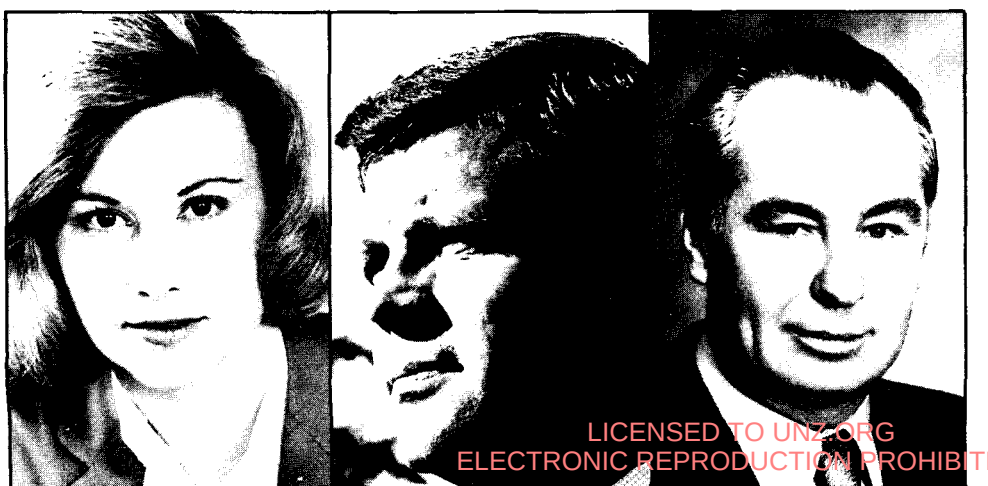
Burgener (Inc. R)	90,715	
Higgins (D)	22,940	(26%)
Metzger (D)	32,344	(37%)
Skagen (D)	32,026	(36.7%)

Republican Clair Burgener should break the record for the number of votes in a California congressional election. His total is usually the largest in the state because of the growth in his district. This year, he'll get the support of liberal Democrats because his opponent is Tom Metzger, grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Metzger won the primary only because the anti-Klan vote was divided between San Diego Democratic chairman Ed Skagen and businessman Bud Higgins. All Metzger won was the right to appoint associates to the state and county Democratic committees. The question now is whether his appointees will be accepted by an embarrassed party. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

STATE SENATE

The Republican Party faces an almost hopeless task trying to make up ground against the Democrats in the state Senate this year. Of the 20 holdover seats not being contested this year, 14 are held by Democrats and only six by Republicans. Of the nine Democratic seats up for grabs in November, seven are considered virtually untouchable. The GOP should pick up the San Diego seat being vacated by Bob Wilson, who is running for Congress, and the minority party plans to launch an assault on one-term Democrat John Garamendi in the foothills around Sacramento. But the Republicans will have even greater difficulty retaining their 11 seats. In fact, two are considered all but lost. Democratic Assemblyman Dan Boatwright and Henry Mello are expected to replace Republicans John Nejedly of Contra Costa County and Bob Nimmo of the central coast. The Democrats will also try to defeat former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis in the district being vacated by retiring Republican Lou Cusanovich. The Republicans will do well to retain the current 23 - 17 division of the house.

Woodlock **Seastrand** **Wm. V. D. Johnson**



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DISTRICT 1 (54%D - 36%R)

Johnson (Inc. R)	74,532	
Huggins (D)	79,408	
Sparling (L)	448	

Old-pro Ray Johnson of Chico should win another term at the age of 69. With reapportionment coming up, this could be his final term. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (59%D - 31%R)

Rodda (Inc. D)	78,518	(75%)
Kirks (D)	26,271	(25%)
Carson (R)	10,199	(19%)
Doolittle (R)	20,284	(37%)
Paul (R)	7,062	(13%)
Ralls (R)	17,634	(32%)

Democrat Albert Rodda of Sacramento is another candidate for retirement in 1984. At 68, he was expected to quit this year, but he decided to run again. He's unbeatable. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (61%D - 18%R)

Marks (Inc. R)	19,383	

Garris (L) 837

Democrats this year decided it was a waste of money and effort to try against Marks, who votes like a Democrat anyway. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 7 (58%D - 32%R)

Boatwright (D)	79,126	(79%)
Dye (D)	20,624	(21%)
Jarboe (F.)	46,916	
Garner (AIP)	738	
White (L)	319	

Despite the fact that this Contra Costa County district is now represented by a Republican, the retiring John Nejedly, the GOP high command realized it was hopeless to try to hold it against Assemblyman Dan Boatwright. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (60%D - 27%R)

Petris (Inc. D)	67,323	(84%)
Spott (D)	12,826	(16%)
Brown (R)	4,713	(14%)
Clayton (R)	13,032	(37%)
Roust (R)	17,282	(49%)
Condit (P&F)	406	
Diamond (L)	425	

Nick Petris is a representative of a vanishing species in the Legislature – a liberal Democrat. He has nothing to fear from his Berkeley-Oakland constituency. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (58%D - 30%R)

Alquist (Inc. D)	76,565
Arey (R)	40,596
Redding (L)	305

This is one of the few Santa Clara County districts that is not being heavily contested this year. At 72, Alquist still has plenty of moxie, and the GOP decided to deploy its weaponry elsewhere in the south Bay Area. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (57%D - 34%R)

Garamendi (Inc. D)	87,907	(88%)
Grego (D)	12,173	(12%)
Burton (R)	18,174	(32%)
Johnson (R)	38,587	(68%)

The GOP has picked John Garamendi as a prime target this year. County Supervisor William V.D. Johnson of South Lake Tahoe will have to hustle plenty to keep up with former Cal-Berkeley football star Garamendi. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 15 56%D - 36%R)

Vuich (Inc D)	64,937

Rose Ann Vuich, first woman ever to serve in the Senate, is getting her reward this year from her San Joaquin Valley constituents. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (51%D - 36%R)

Mello (D)	76,741	
Hack (R)	9,361	(13%)
Seastrand (R)	61,178	(87%)
Kilburn (L)	401	

Democratic Assemblyman Henry Mello is the favorite to take this central coast seat, now held by Republican Bob Nimmo. But the Republicans will mount an expensive campaign on behalf of Eric Seastrand, a conservative with backing from Senator H.L. Richardson. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (49%D - 42%R)

Cline (F)	42,872	(48%)
Davis (R)	46,504	(52%)
Baker (D)	8,621	(12%)

O'Keefe over Diridon in special Senate race

The Republican Party drew first blood in the elections of 1980. It won a substantial victory in the runoff balloting to fill the state Senate vacancy caused by the departure of Democrat Jerry Smith of Santa Clara County to accept an appellate judgeship. Councilman Dan O'Keefe of Cupertino, survivor of a bitter GOP special-election battle with Gloria Hom, carried the 12th Senate District (51%D - 37%R) by almost 27,000 votes.

The results:

O'Keefe (R) 82,016 (53%)
Rod Diridon (D) 55,098 (35%)
William White (L) 18,539 (12%)

Both O'Keefe and his Democratic opponent, County Supervisor Rod Diridon, were well known to the voters. O'Keefe had an image as a conservative and Diridon as a liberal. The Libertarian candidate, William White, campaigned as the alternative to these extremes and won a respectable portion of the vote. O'Keefe was supported by conservative state Senator H. L. Richardson, who makes no secret of his desire to change the GOP leadership in the Senate. Whether Richardson can accomplish his goal of deposing minority leader Bill Campbell will depend upon the outcome of the 20 Senate races in November.

Bronson (D)	19,564	(27%)
Bullock (D)	8,012	(11%)
Woodlock (D)	37,401	(51%)
Stiffler (L)	242	

Former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis survived a close battle with Assemblyman Bob Cline of Woodland Hills to win the Republican nomination. Democrats thought Cline would be unbeatable but that the outspoken Davis might be vulnerable. The Democrats came through with a surprise nominee, Rosemary Woodlock, a former state Banking Department attorney with deep roots in the district. Davis was expecting to face school trustee Arthur Bronson, but Woodlock ran him into the ground. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 21 (45%D - 47%R)

Russell (Inc. R)	71,912
Cogar (D)	41,411
Ogawa (L)	267

Newton Russell of Glendale represents one of the state's solid Republican areas. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (62%D - 27%R)

Roberti (Inc. D)	57,422	
McDowell (R)	6,906	(24%)
White (R)	22,428	(77%)
Scanlon (AIP)	262	
Richardson (L)	407	

Republican Norman White of Los Angeles is trying to run on an anti-busing platform, but that won't be enough to dislodge the Senate Democratic spokesman, David Roberti. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 25 (46%D - 46%R)

Richardson (Inc. R)	72,725
Boothroyd (D)	45,801
Staller (L)	295

Safe in his San Gabriel Valley nest, Bill Richardson can devote most of his effort and fund-raising ability to help other candidates endorsed by his pro-gun and law-and-order organizations. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 27 (50%D - 40%R)

Beverly (Inc. R)	54,432
Buckland (D)	45,465
Howard (L)	361

Veteran Republican Bob Beverly runs far ahead of GOP registration in this coastal district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 29 (83%D - 11%R)

Greene (Inc. D)	47,383
Faulkner (R)	6,426
Thomas (L)	66

Bill Greene's problems with the Fair Political Practices Commission will make no impression on his solid Democratic constituency. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (58%D - 33%R)

Speraw (Inc. R)	39,936
Fronke (D)	48,714

The registration statistics would indicate that Long Beach city auditor Robert Fronke would have a good chance of beating Ollie Speraw, who won the seat in a special election. But the district has a Republican voting history. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 33 (55%D - 37%R)

Campbell (Inc. R)	53,151
Epple (D)	50,294

Republican floor leader Bill Campbell is looking past this election to a possible run for statewide office in 1982. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 35 (43%D - 47%R)

Briggs (Inc. R)	63,310	(69%)
Dougherty (R)	28,009	(31%)
Velasquez (D)	48,809	
Boeheim (P&F)	133	
Grover (L)	642	

The controversial John Briggs should win another term because his district has a Republican majority. His opponent, Louis Velasquez, is the former mayor of Fullerton. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 37 (53%D - 36%R)

Carpenter (Inc. D)	53,227

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Wiles (R) 37,610

Democrat Paul Carpenter acts like a Republican, and that is probably smart politics in his Orange County constituency. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 39 (47%D - 38%R)

Ellis (R)	42,935	(55%)
Schaefer (R)	16,507	(21%)
Schnaubelt (R)	19,002	(24%)
Finnigan (D)	46,430	(66%)
Letter (D)	23,636	(34%)

Democrat Bob Wilson is abandoning this seat for a crack at Congress. Republican Assemblyman Jim Ellis showed strength in knocking off two well-known opponents and should win in November. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

ASSEMBLY

The conventional wisdom holds that the Democrats have been severely hurt by the competition between Howard Berman and Leo McCarthy for the Assembly speakership. The line is that the Democrats used so much money and effort fighting among themselves in the primaries that they won't have optimum resources left to fight the Republicans in November.

Precisely the opposite may turn out to be the case. Now that Berman and McCarthy are through with the head-on competition in the primaries, they must defeat Republicans to maximize their potential for the leadership election in December. Will there be enough money left? The Democrats claim that there will be plenty of cash raised to fight Republicans. Thus, some GOP incumbents might face tougher races than would have been the case without the speakership contest. That's because Berman especially is trying to get his allies elected in districts now held by Republicans.

The GOP is not in a very good position to prevent a Democratic reapportionment next year. Brown will still be governor, and the Democrats are sure to control the Senate. The Democrats now hold a 50 - 30 advantage in the Assembly. It is possible for the Republicans to even the score with a net gain of 10 seats. The GOP probably will make some gains, but the Democrats must be considered the favorites to win 41 seats, a bare majority, and there are 17 other districts in which they have a good chance.

The Berman-McCarthy feud resulted in the defeat of two Democratic incumbents in the primary: McCarthy supporter Jack Fenton of Montebello and Berman backer Carmen Perino of Stockton. The Fenton seat is solid for the Democrats, but the Perino district can go either way.

Small fortunes will be poured into about 30 Assembly races this year — by Democrats involved in the speakership contest and by Republicans making a valiant attempt to gain control of the house. It will be a banner year for those selling political advertising and managing Assembly campaigns.

DISTRICT 1 (55%D - 35%R)

Statham (Inc. R)	37,840
Misso (P&F)	127
Liebling (L)	144

No Democrat seems to think that Stan Statham is worth a challenge. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 2 (56%D - 31%R)

Bosco (Inc. D)	46,966
Potts (R)	25,286
Maxson (P&F)	423
Garth (L)	237

Democrat Doug Bosco ran a strong race on the north coast two years ago and should repeat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 3 (53%D - 37%R)

Claiborne (D)	3,757	(7%)
Colby (D)	4,449	(8%)
Ferreira (D)	15,011	(27%)
Garcia (D)	18,853	(33%)
Lee (D)	5,078	(9%)
Pharris (D)	4,995	(9%)
Youngdahl (D)	4,306	(8%)
Brouillette (R)	3,116	(7%)
Graham (R)	6,471	(15%)

Garcia **Herger** **P. Johnston**

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Herger (R)	22,420	(53%)
Winston (R)	10,505	(25%)
Martini (L)	347	

This was one of the wildest primaries in the state, prompted by Republican Gene Chappie's decision to run for the Senate. Former Yuba City Police Chief George Garcia rose to the top of the pack over early leader Alex Ferreira. Both are county supervisors. Republican Wally Herger also looks strong. This is wide-open, cow-county territory. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 4 (58%D - 30%R)

Hannigan (Inc. D)	46,524
Cecil (R)	23,243
Bolick (L)	152

If cats could vote, feline fancier Cecil would be a runaway winner. Since they can't, incumbent Tom Hannigan should win a second term by a wide margin in this Sacramento-Yolo-Solano district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (58%D - 31%R)

Moorhead (Inc. R)	22,160	
Franks (D)	9,085	(17%)
Scardino (D)	7,880	(15%)
Sheedy (D)	35,495	(68%)

This Sacramento district was once solid for the Democrats, but Jean Moorhead changed that two years ago. Now she will face a well-financed campaign by Sacramento County Supervisor Ted Sheedy, an ambitious political animal. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 6 (60%D - 30%R)

Greene (Inc. D)	36,854	(65%)
Reiss (D)	19,996	(35%)
Benvenuti (R)	13,609	(48%)
Bibow (R)	11,670	(41%)
Green (R)	2,914	(10%)
Reiger (P&F)	97	

Two years ago, environmental activist Joan Reiss almost caught veteran Leroy Greene napping. This time, he fought hard and increased his victory margin. The Berman and McCarthy machines poured money into this race. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (55%D - 36%R)

N. Waters (Inc. D)	45,669	(79%)
Baker (D)	12,183	(21%)
Fox (R)	8,215	(19%)
Parises (R)	29,661	(69%)
Stevens (R)	4,905	(12%)

Norman Waters ran unopposed two years ago. This year, the Republicans will try to beat him with Dan Parises, a former county supervisor. This is a mountain-valley district with low party loyalty. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (56%D - 34%R)

Asera (D)	32,637	(62%)
Passarino (D)	19,763	(38%)
Dwyer (R)	14,763	(40%)
Sebastiani (R)	22,567	(60%)
Hawkes (P&F)	163	

Democrat Mike Gage decided to quit, giving the Republicans a good opportunity. The GOP nominee, Don Sebastiani of the wine family, had a surprisingly difficult primary. The Democratic nominee, Larry Asera, will have McCarthy backing and will be cheered by the nation's Filipinos. Asera, as a Solano supervisor, is the highest ranking elected official of Filipino descent in American history. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 9 (51%D - 34%R)

Filante (Inc. R)	32,162	
Baptiste (D)	11,450	(24%)
Brown (D)	2,009	(4%)
Charles (D)	29,917	(64%)
Davids (D)	3,528	(8%)
Duncan (P&F)	271	

Freshman Bill Filante will be a prime Democratic target. Womens Political Caucus leader Anne Charles showed strength in this Marin-Sonoma district by whipping former Supervisor Arnold Baptiste with ease. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 10 (51% - 38%R)

Hasseltine (D)	40,530	
Baie (R)	2,987	(7%)
Baker (R)	22,010	(49%)
Hazard (R)	19,983	(44%)
James (L)	165	

The GOP high command had party machinery ready to roll for moderate James Hazard, a Walnut Creek councilman. But conservative Bill Baker beat Hazard. That may improve the chances of Contra Costa Supervisor Eric Hasseltine, trying to hold the seat being vacated by Senator-to-be Dan Boatwright. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 11 (66%D - 24%R)

Bianco (D)	21,875	(42%)
Campbell (D)	29,666	(58%)
Birka (R)	13,552	
Dietrich (AIP)	364	
Corl (L)	152	

Assembly Dean Jack Knox of Richmond called it quits, and the Democrats split into two camps. Bob Campbell had the advantage of two machines (Berman and Knox-Coffey) to Nello Bianco's one (McCarthy). SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (54%D-33%R)

Bates (Inc. D)	44,555	
Sullivan (R)	26,606	
Cowan (P&F)	245	
Haughton (L)	333	

Tom Bates has not been running strongly in this Berkeley-Oakland-Orinda district, and pharmacist William Sullivan could make the race tight with enough financial support. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (69%D - 18%R)

Harris (Inc. D)	28,918	
Heitzmann (L)	121	

Elihu Harris need only fear a future primary contest. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (71%D - 21%R)

Lockyer (Inc. D)	33,419	

Bill Lockyer is the early favorite to replace veteran John Holmdahl in the state Senate should Holmdahl receive a judicial appointment, as anticipated. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (59%D - 29%R)

Mori (Inc. D)	24,752	(58%)
Santana (D)	18,308	(43%)
Marguth (R)	13,989	(59%)
Mills (R)	9,635	(41%)

Incumbent Floyd Mori survived the first wave of an assault based on his use of a state-leased van for private use. Now comes Republican Gib Marguth, former mayor of Livermore, with wave two. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 16 (64%D - 15%R)

Fondse **Mori** **Marguth**

McCarthy versus Berman

Both Leo McCarthy and Howard Berman emerged from the June 3rd primary with about 10 horses to ride in November. Here is a rundown of the races involving candidates given McCarthy and Berman labels:

Head-to-head Berman victories

Bob Campbell over Nello Bianco, 11th District.
Sam Farr over Kevin La Graff, 28th District.
Louis Dominguez over John Barbieri, 52nd District.
Marty Martinez over incumbent Jack Fenton, 59th District.
Jim Cramer over Ken Willis, 65th District.

Head-to-head McCarthy victories

George Garcia over Alex Ferreira, 3rd District.
Incumbent **Leroy Greene** over Joan Reiss, 6th District.
Incumbent **Floyd Mori** over Charles Santana, 15th District.
Pat Johnston over Incumbent Carmen Perino, 26th District.

Other Berman-linked candidates

Kenn Bovetti, 32nd District.
Richard Katz, 39th District.
Dick Floyd, 53rd District.
John Allen, 58th District.
Fred Nagel, 77th District.

Other McCarthy-linked candidates

Larry Asera, 8th District.
Anne Charles, 9th District.
Eric Hasseltine, 10th District.
Byron Sher, 21st District.
Cole Bridges, 22nd District.
Dom Cortese, 24th District.

Agnos (Inc. D)	23,800	
Jenkins (R)	5,444	
Raimondo (L)	356	

Republicans only run against Art Agnos to win central committee appointments. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (59%D - 20%R)

Willie Brown (Inc. D)	29,202	
Crary (R)	10,455	
Kangas (P&F)	200	
Schwartz (L)	373	

This is already a bad election season for Willie Brown. His buddy, Jack Fenton, was the victim of the Berman organization. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (66%D - 23%R)

McCarthy (Inc. D)	34,540	
Gede (R)	10,398	
Pickens (L)	161	

Speaker Leo McCarthy will raise plenty of money for the November campaign and spend it all elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (59%D - 31%R)

Papan (Inc. D)	34,204	
Tucker (R)	17,924	
Baba (L)	115	

Republicans think that, based on a poll, they can beat incumbent tough-guy Lou Papan. Daly City Councilman Jim Tucker will have professional management and GOP money. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 20 (49%D - 40%R)

Naylor (Inc. R)	34,178	
Tovar (D)	27,099	
Grossman (AIP)	245	

Democrats gave this district their best shot and came up short two years ago. Bob Naylor will repeat. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (52%D - 33%R)

Bostic (D)	9,390	(29%)
Sher (D)	23,393	(71%)
Morris (R)	22,461	
Olson (L)	313	

The prospect of a difficult rematch with attorney Greg Morris of Palo Alto was one reason why Democrat Victor Calvo decided to retire. Palo Alto Councilman Byron Sher has a heavy Democratic banner to carry. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 22 (44%D - 44%R)

Bridges (D)	25,508	
Allen (R)	5,610	(13%)

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Brydon (R)	2,320	(5%)
Gualtieri (R)	8,987	(21%)
Harris (R)	12,662	(29%)
Konnyu (R)	14,055	(32%)
Barron (P&F)	96	

This seat is being vacated by Republican Dick Hayden. The GOP has favorable registration in the district, but that's about all. The Democrats have a strong candidate in former Saratoga Mayor Cole Bridges. The GOP leadership had hoped for someone other than businessman Ernest Konnyu. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 23 (59%D - 28%R)

Vasconcellos (Inc. D)	29,153	
Street (R)	13,903	
Wurm (L)	219	

The Republicans have decided to test Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, who can be more psychologist than politician at times. (He's been a politician of late.) The GOP has a strong candidate in Santa Clara Councilwoman Auralee Street, but the demographics are with Vasco. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (55%D - 33%R)

Cortese (D)	25,887	(55%)
Egeland (D)	4,528	(10%)
Kruse (D)	5,542	(12%)
Peralta (D)	8,050	(17%)
Trevino (D)	2,725	(6%)
Pegram (R)	26,693	
De Amicis (L)	194	

Had incumbent Leona Egeland sought reelection, the Republicans might have won this seat. But the matchup now favors the Democrats – moderate Supervisor Dom Cortese of San Jose against Larry Pegram, a San Jose councilman victimized by adverse publicity of late. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (61%D - 26%R)

McAlister (Inc. D)	31,404	(76%)
Flemate (D)	10,148	(24%)

This is the only Santa Clara County Assembly district without any action this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (60%D - 32%R)

Perino (Inc. D)	15,805	(37%)
Gutierrez (D)	7,377	(17%)
Johnston (D)	19,226	(45%)
Carter (R)	9,346	(40%)
Fondse (R)	14,188	(60%)
Brewster (L)	33	

Something will be missing from the California political scene this year – the traditional contest between Democrat Carmen Perino and Republican Doug Carter in the Stockton area. Perino was defeated by Pat Johnston, aide to Senator John Garamendi, and party regulars prevailed with Supervisor Adrian Fondse over Carter. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 27 (60%D - 32%R)

Thurman (Inc. D)	33,975	
Patterakis (R)	11,367	(51%)
Yamaichi (R)	10,925	(49%)
Gerringer (L)	63	

John Thurman is an institution in Modesto. Yet the GOP will try to beat him this year with Chris Patterakis, a pilot who barely won his primary. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (52%D - 32%R)

Farr (D)	21,499	(42%)
Hunter (D)	2,206	(4%)
La Graff (D)	15,104	(29%)
Murphy (D)	12,659	(25%)
Miller (R)	5,272	(28%)
Welchner (R)	13,262	(72%)
Zaharakis (P&F)	512	
Atkinson (L)	274	

The Berman forces practically won an outright victory with Monterey Supervisor Sam Farr. The Republican nominee, Ann Welchner, had withdrawn because of a health problem. The seat is being abandoned by Senate-candidate Henry Mello but is hardly safe for a Democrat. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (50%D - 39%R)

Hallett (Inc. R)	33,160	

There is an outside chance that GOP leader Carol Hallett could become speaker next year. But the odds are quite long. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 30 (65%D - 26%R)

Costa (Inc. D)	30,422	
Harner (R)	13,462	

Incumbent Jim Costa will have no trouble with Carol Harner, a familiar name on the ballot. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (56%D - 37%R)

Lehman (Inc. D)	35,168	

In some year, the Republicans may make Rick Lehman a prime target. This is not that year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (55%D - 36%R)

Duffy (Inc. R)	23,810	
Bovetti (D)	17,803	

Republican Gordon Duffy is a victim of the Berman-McCarthy battle. Without it, he would have another easy ride. But now Berman is backing Democrat Kenn Bovetti, a Visalia attorney, and Duffy will have to work. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 33 (56%D - 36%R)

Rogers (Inc. R)	27,637	
Jensen (D)	29,230	

The primary statistics are deceiving. Republican Don Rogers should run far ahead in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (51%D - 40%R)

Wyman (Inc. R)	32,711	
Dizmang (D)	29,174	

The Democrats are virtually conceding another term for Phil Wyman. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 35 (49%D - 36%R)

Hart (Inc. D)	37,860	
Aquino (R)	21,846	(63%)
Myers (R)	13,065	(37%)
Sutton (L)	179	

Democrat Gary Hart usually runs far ahead of his party in tricky Santa Barbara County. He should be good for another term. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (52%D - 38%R)

Imbrecht (Inc. R)	34,318	
Laufer (D)	34,066	
Chew (L)	110	

Republican caucus chairman Charles Imbrecht acts more worried than he should be. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 37 (49%D - 42%R)

Cotton (D)	5,174	(16%)
Mathews (D)	17,775	(54%)
Williamson (D)	10,157	(31%)
Allen (R)	7,132	(19%)
Holley (R)	1,839	(5%)
Smith (R)	7,002	(19%)
Studwell (R)	1,789	(5%)
Werner (R)	8,798	(24%)
Wright (R)	10,709	(29%)
Wiener (L)	137	

This is a dandy race for the women's movement. Democrat Arline Mathews, a consumer advocate, and Republican Cathie Wright, a Simi Valley councilwoman, won open primaries. The district is now represented by Bob Cline, defeated in a run for the state Senate. Republicans usually do well in this district. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (48%D - 43%R)

Afriat (D)	11,825	(29%)
Bruce (D)	11,418	(28%)
Carpentier (D)	10,162	(25%)
Israel (D)	7,320	(18%)
LaFollette (R)	22,684	(54%)
Olson (R)	13,408	(32%)
Wyler (R)	5,591	(13%)
Tanner (L)	199	

The large field was prompted by the retirement of Republican Paul Priolo. Republican Marian LaFollette of Malibu was the favorite from the start. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (61%D - 31%R)

Hayes (Inc. R)	15,788	
Dib (D)	8,565	(27%)
Katz (D)	23,258	(73%)
Woods (AIP)	158	
Binsley (L)	85	

Freshman J. Robert Hayes of San Fernando won by surprise two years ago and may not see the start of a second term. The Democratic candidate, graphic artist

Papan **Tucker** **Cortese**

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Richard Katz, has the gung-ho backing of the Berman organization. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 40 (61%D - 31%R)

Bane (Inc. D)	31,772	(82%)
Gordor (D)	6,899	(18%)
Estavillo (R)	2,044	(11%)
Kennedy (R)	9,302	(50%)
Lefevre (R)	7,366	(39%)
Engel (P&F)	95	
Vargo (L)	184	

Tom Bane of Tarzana keeps in tune with his constituency. Yet the Republicans may target him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 41 (45%D - 48%R)

Nolan (Inc. R)	30,613
Helms (D)	19,930
Wulfe (L)	117

Young Pat Nolan of Glendale is a leader in the conservative movement, has little competition. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (46%D - 47%R)

Ivers (Inc. R)	38,315
Henry (D)	22,071
Stroberg (L)	158

Despite some population shifts, Bill Ivers of Flintridge still represents GOP territory. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 43 (60%D - 33%R)

Berman (Inc. D)	44,211	(85%)
Kurdi (D)	8,035	(15%)
Bates (R)	8,288	(32%)
Bloodgood (R)	5,654	(22%)
Rosenbloom (R)	5,360	(21%)
Silver (R)	6,715	(26%)
Lagasse (L)	206	

Even with Howard Berman concentrating on races throughout the state, the Republicans won't be able to beat him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 44 (62%D - 27%R)

Levine (Inc. D)	40,594	(88%)
Weitzman (D)	5,716	(12%)
Haupt (R)	17,689	
Wolford (L)	297	

Mel Levine is waiting for an opportunity to move up the political ladder. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (63%D - 26%R)

Rosenthal (Inc. D)	39,806
Parker (R)	12,959
Weston (P&F)	176
Brown (L)	222

Herschel Rosenthal is the darling of the Los Angeles delicatessen district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 46 (60%D - 29%R)

Roos (Inc. D)	20,569
Cory (R)	8,337
Garner (L)	159

Once Mike Roos extricated himself from a primary battle against the Berman forces (Star Trek's George Takei withdrew), he was home free. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 47 (82%D - 12%R)

Hughes (Inc. D)	22,491	(89%)
Shook (D)	2,692	(11%)
Thompson (R)	2,699	

Teresa Hughes is an automatic victor in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 48 (84%D - 11%R)

Maxine Waters (Inc. D)	24,569
Hallburn (R)	3,402

Pegram **King-Jeffers** **Ingalls**

Districts don't come any more Democratic than this one. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 49 (74%D - 18%R)

Moore (Inc. D)	41,267
Dye (L)	114

First-termer Gwen Moore can concentrate on other matters. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 50 (75%D - 19%R)

Tucker (Inc. D)	27,352	(77%)
Hill (D)	8,149	(23%)
Thomas (R)	8,502	
Townsend (L)	77	

Curtis Tucker quietly piles up term after term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 51 (44%D - 46%R)

Ryan (Inc. R)	34,009
Wirth (D)	22,301
Crowe (L)	233

Marilyn Ryan is recognized as one of the sharper members of the Legislature, and her constituents back her with big pluralities. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 52 (59%D - 32%R)

Felando (Inc. R)	17,158	
Barbieri (D)	13,954	(43%)
Dominguez (D)	18,516	(57%)
M. Cassano (L)	104	

Republican Gerald Felando pulled a shocker by beating the late Vincent Thomas in 1978. Berman and McCarthy fought over the right to tackle him, and Berman's man, Louis Dominguez, won. Felando will have to fight hard to survive. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 53 (69%D - 22%R)

Bannai (Inc. R)	10,291	
Floyd (D)	18,071	(58%)
Wear (D)	13,346	(43%)
S. Cassano (L)	77	

Paul Bannai keeps licking the registration statistics. The past two times the victim has been Cindy Wear. This year, the opponent is Dick Floyd, aide to state Senator Ralph Dills and a member of the Berman team. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 54 (78%D - 16%R)

Vicencia (Inc. D)	23,918
Coxson (R)	5,301
Holloway (L)	61

Coming from this safe district, Democrat Frank Vicencia can concentrate on making friends and enjoying sports. He has been discussed as a possible compromise speaker. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 55 (68%D - 23%R)

Alatorre (Inc. D)	21,185	(84%)
Rives (D)	3,995	(16%)
Reed (R)	8,034	
Boctor (L)	83	

Richard Alatorre is expected to be given a congressional district in reapportionment. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 56 (79%D - 13%R)

Torres (Inc. D)	17,624
Blacksten (R)	2,400
Nelson (L)	40

The key question for Art Torres is whether a statewide race in 1982 is worth the gamble. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 57 (62%D - 29%R)

Elder (Inc. D)	23,837

Dave Elder held a victory fundraiser on primary night. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 58 (56%D - 36%R)

Dennis Brown (Inc. R)	25,590	
Allen (D)	22,558	(60%)
Branstine (D)	15,158	(40%)

The potency of the Waxman-Berman machine became apparent in this district. Attorney John Allen is the Berman candidate, and he ran especially strong. This could mean trouble for Republican Dennis Brown, who upset a Democrat two years ago. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 59 (68%D - 25%R)

Fenton (Inc. D)	16,418	(41%)
Amador (D)	3,979	(10%)
Martinez (D)	19,621	(49%)
Myers (AIP)	128	
Swinney (L)	99	

Back in 1964, Jack Fenton defeated an Hispanic incumbent, John Moreno, in the Democratic primary. This year, the combination of Latino power and the Berman organization defeated him with a last-week blitz on behalf of Monterey Park Councilman Marty Martinez. Fenton has been a potent member of the Bob Moretti-Willie Brown faction in the Assembly and a McCarthy backer. The district is solid for the Democrats. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 60 (68%D - 24%R)

Tanner (Inc. D)	19,841	(76%)
Segovia (D)	6,150	(24%)
Velasco (R)	8,439	
Guarnett (AIP)	173	
Argall (L)	78	

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Wray **Felando** **Kapiloff**

The Hispanic move on first-termer Sally Tanner bombed. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 61 (43%D - 50%R)

Mountjoy (Inc. R)	33,765	
Smith (D)	19,682	
Scanlon (AIP)	205	

This is one of the most loyal Republican districts in the state. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 62 (49%D - 43%R)

Lancaster (Inc. R)	33,784	
Miller (D)	21,206	(68%)
Wilson (D)	9,905	(32%)

Bill Lancaster should get a rest after two tough battles with Sandy Baldonado. If Councilman Gary Miller of West Covina becomes a Berman or McCarthy favorite, the race could get interesting. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 63 (63%D - 31%R)

Young (Inc. D)	30,792	
Brandes (R)	15,122	
Leaf (L)	116	

Bruce Young guards his blue-collar district like a territorial animal. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 64 (49%D - 43%R)

Stirling (Inc. R)	32,805
Juric (D)	24,870

Dave Stirling of Whittier need only fear next year's reapportionment. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 65 (53%D - 38%R)

Cramer (D)	17,470	(51%)
Katzman (D)	3,334	(10%)
Willis (D)	13,193	(39%)
Bader (R)	12,126	(46%)
Gentry (R)	3,863	(15%)
McGehee (R)	6,498	(25%)
Ridley (R)	4,076	(15%)
Eloff (L)	140	

Jerry Brown opened this district by giving Democrat Bill McVittie a judgeship. Berman backed San Bernardino County District Attorney Jim Cramer, a buddy of Assemblyman Terry Goggin. McCarthy went with business-connected Ken Willis. Cramer faces a strong opponent in former Pomona Mayor Charles Bader.

DISTRICT 66 (61%D - 28%R)

Goggin (Inc. D)	31,465
Sumrall (R)	16,291
Montgomery (L)	124

Terry Goggin's project for this year is getting political ally Jim Cramer elected from the adjoining district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 67 (47%D - 43%R)

Leonard (Inc. R)	42,467
Gunn (D)	35,284
Wilson (L)	203

Freshman Bill Leonard probably will face only a token challenge this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 68 (54%D - 35%R)

Ingalls (Inc. D)	32,246
King-Jeffers (R)	22,292
Brinks (L)	189

Republican leaders have high hopes for Norco attorney Sharon King-Jeffers, but she won't find the feisty Walt Ingalls an easy target. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 69 (47%D - 43%R)

Johnson (Inc. R)	25,547
Thierbach (D)	21,405

Ross Johnson holds one of several safe Orange County legislative seats. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 70 (39%D - 50%R)

Eriksen (D)	11,623	(42%)
O'Rourke (D)	16,107	(58%)
Hawkins (R)	2,811	(5%)
Lewis (R)	24,731	(47%)
Nestande (R)	20,930	(40%)
Swanson (R)	3,629	(7%)
Rinehart (L)	202	(51%)
Wedderien (L)	192	(49%)

Republican Bruce Nestande abandoned this seat to run for Orange County supervisor. (He won.) It appeared as though his ex-wife, Beverly, would replace him. But she was out-campaigned by Yorba Linda businessman John R. Lewis. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 71 (55%D - 35%R)

Wray (Inc. D)	26,802	
Allen (R)	20,292	(77%)
Erickson (R)	6,089	(23%)
Showley (L)	356	

Union-backed Democrat Chet Wray of Westminster is a high-priority GOP target. He defeated conservative Doris Allen two years ago and will spend a bundle trying to survive the rematch. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 72 (52%D - 36%R)

Robinson (Inc. D)	20,064
Silva (R)	14,444

Anti-abortion activist Raoul Silva is over his head against Richard Robinson of Santa Ana, who usually runs stronger than his party. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 73 (44%D - 41%R - 4%L)

Mangers (Inc. D)	32,530
Frizzelle (R)	35,384

Democrat Dennis Mangers has managed to survive in GOP territory and hopes to survive one more term before running for superintendent of public instruction. His opponent, Dr. Nolan Frizzelle, has been active in conservative Republican politics but failed to win the GOP primary two years ago. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 74 (34%D - 53%R)

Bergeson (Inc. R)	70,212
Baldwin (D)	30,174
Waltman (L)	573

Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach probably had better worry more about Libertarian Sue Waltman than Democrat Jack Baldwin. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 75 (48%D - 43%R)

Kelley (Inc. R)	42,240
Gill (D)	34,006
Gentry (L)	112

The Democrats apparently are not sending heavy artillery into the desert after freshman David Kelley. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 76 (39%D - 45%R)

Frazee (Inc. R)	73,487
Becker (D)	45,636
Lorenz (L)	446

This is the only solid Republican district in San Diego County. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 77 (46%D - 40%R)

Augustine (D)	8,038	(19%)
Doyle (D)	4,649	(11%)
Kramer (D)	1,702	(4%)
Morrow (D)	11,719	(27%)
Nagel (D)	12,047	(28%)
Schramm (D)	2,407	(6%)
Smith (D)	2,349	(6%)
Scheuneman (R)	12,457	(32%)
Stirling (R)	26,746	(68%)

With Republican incumbent Jim Ellis running for the state Senate, this contest opened wide. The Republicans have a popular nominee in San Diego Councilman Larry Stirling. But the Berman machine will go bonkers to try electing La Mesa Councilman Fred Nagel. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 78 (49%D - 35%R)

Kapiloff (Inc. D)	29,721	
Elliott (R)	10,412	(34%)
Miloslavich (R)	1,497	(5%)
Tharp (R)	18,609	(61%)

Incumbent Larry Kapiloff is a target every two years. His opponent this time is Superior Judge Ross Tharp. DOUBTFUL.

District 79 (59%D - 27%R)

Chacon (Inc. D)	24,029
Bailey (R)	13,358

This is the only San Diego County Assembly district with any breathing room for a Democrat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 80 (53%D - 33%R)

Deddeh (Inc. D)	33,640
Green (R)	23,095

Veteran Wadie P. Deddeh has become an institution in the southwestern corner of the nation. Without Deddeh, the Democrats could lose the district some day. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

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ILLUSTRATION BY SCOTT ADELL

'They spend all day out there, and if they get a dollar's worth of gold, they're probably doing good.'

THE NEW GOLD RUSH

By KERRY DRAGER

Mike Miller operates a mine in the Alleghany district of western Sierra County, a region long known for the richness of its ores. He's been gold mining for five years. Since he began prospecting, the price of gold has skyrocketed. "My intuition said it would be a good business," Miller says. "But," he adds, "I'm either going to be rich or poor. There's no middle ground in gold mining."

The rise in gold prices and the recession-like economy have spawned a new California gold rush. Prospectors are heading for the hills with their gold pans, suction dredges, sluice boxes and scuba diving gear — and often with their families. Many once-fruitful mines, long since shut down, are being reactivated.

This modern-day treasure hunt, though, has sparked environmental concerns and other problems. Most novice prospectors simply don't know what they're doing. Others are unaware of the proper permits needed. And some Sierra foothill residents are fighting to keep mining companies from reopening mines in their communities.

Just how many prospectors are joining this new gold rush is unknown. However, the number of suction or vacuum dredging permits issued by the Department of Fish and Game shows a dramatic increase in such mining. In 1978, 3,820 dredging permits were issued by Fish and Game. Last year, that number jumped to 5,215. And, in the first four months of 1980, 6,083 permits were issued.

Officials in other agencies note a similar gold mining boom. "This winter and spring have been crazy," says John Corbett, realty officer of Tahoe National Forest. "Many people became interested with the high price of $800 an ounce and they're still interested at $500. There's going to be a lot more people out here prospecting than we've had since the 1930s."

A new breed of gold seeker is emerging in the 1980s — the weekend or vacation prospector who considers it primarily recreation. Often gold panning is combined with other family activities, such as camping and hiking. If they find enough of the elusive yellow stuff to pay their way, then that's an added bonus.

But it's not just the recreational value or the high price of gold that is sending people out panning and dredging for color. "Always during a recession, gold mining has been an attractive area to get into," says district geologist John Alfors of the state Division of Mines and Geology. "We produce more gold during depressions and recessions than at any other time. And the deeper the recession, the better it is for gold production."

More headaches than gold

However, this present-day gold rush has produced more headaches than gold. "The main problem is that the public is just unaware of the permits required," says Patrol Lieutenant Rich Elliott of Fish and Game. "We are now finding more and more people either dredging in closed streams or dredging without suction-dredging permits."

These licenses specify seasons and locations where suction-dredge mining is prohibited — to protect spawning activity and incubating eggs of trout, salmon and other fish. Dredging permits also cite open areas but do not authorize substantial alteration of a stream bed or stream banks.

Most other regulations — local and federal as well as state — also concern the effect of gold mining on the environment. Although not requiring a permit, the use of a rocker or sluice box, for example, could violate state law. The sluice box is placed in the stream and utilizes the water from it. But if the

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prospector takes material from any place other than the stream bed itself and deposits it in state waters, it may be an infraction. Fish and Game regulations prohibit depositing any substance in a stream that is harmful to fish, plant or bird life.

The days of gold mining's free reign are still evident in many areas, such as Malakoff Diggins State Park. Hydraulic mining, banned in the late 1800s, disintegrated entire mountains. The scars remain nearly a century later. However, gold mining's effect on the environment still creates concern.

Many new prospectors "just don't know how to go about gold mining," says Fish and Game's Elliott. "They're doing it on an experimental, hit-and-miss basis, and in some cases the wildlife resources are suffering. The primary reason is the siltation that's caused with suction dredges. Even if they know what they're doing, use of the suction dredge in a stream is going to cause a certain amount of turbidity or siltation. Siltation, for various reasons, is deleterious to fish life.

"So we've had to reach some kind of compromise. That's the reason for the permit process. Then, when they're permitted to work in a certain stream, we have a little better handle on where the people are working. We can keep a better eye on it."

The federal role

Federal laws govern mining as well. For instance, anyone proposing a mining operation on national forest lands that might create a disturbance of surface resources must file a "notice of intention to operate." The operator also may be required to submit a proposed plan of operation if it will cause a significant impact on the environment. Such regulations make it more difficult and costly for firms to reactivate idle mines. Various phases of mining also may fall under the California Environmental Quality Act. And the state Surface Mining and Reclamation Act of 1975 requires a prospective miner to have a plan for reclaiming the land after he finishes mining it.

Other state agencies such as the Regional Water Quality Control Board, Office of Noise Control, Air Resources Board and Caltrans are involved in certain environmental aspects of gold mining. But it's at the local level where a prospective mining operator must begin. A county agency, for example, may require an operating permit or an environmental impact assessment. And neighbors often object. "Some people on these old mining properties have built houses on them," says Alfors of Mines and Geology. "And they don't like mining to go on next door to their homes."

In the North Columbia area of Nevada County, residents have opposed a mining firm that has leased 2,200 acres of old hydraulic diggings for exploratory work. Since the diggings were closed, many people — primarily non-miners — have settled there. Area residents fear the possibility of a big mining operation starting up again, with its resultant dust, noise and traffic. The matter already has reached the courts.

The company on the firing line in North Columbia is Placer Service Corporation, a subsidiary of a large New York-based minerals firm, St. Joe Minerals. Placer Service presently has a conditional-use permit to explore the diggings by drilling a series of 62 test holes. When the use permit expires, the firm could apply to open a mine. More legal battles are expected should Placer Services pursue the mining operation.

Much of the mining in California is being done in the old placer districts of the Sierra foothills — primarily in the region drained by the Yuba, Feather and American rivers and their tributaries. Sierra County, which includes the high-grade Alleghany district, is the most active area, but prospecting also occurs in Klamath Mountain streams, particularly the areas drained by the Klamath, Trinity and Salmon rivers. There is some mining activity in the desert areas of eastern and southeastern California, and in the San Bernardino, San Gabriel and Santa Ana mountains of Southern California.

In 1977, 5,794 ounces of gold were reported recovered in California for a total value of $846,000 (at an average of $146 per ounce), according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines. In 1978, it rose to 7,480 ounces at $1,447,000 ($196 per ounce). Last year, while the total number of ounces increased little, to 7,723, the value jumped to $2,375,000 (about $307 an ounce). However, that is still just a minute part of California's total mineral production, which is valued in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

Such figures do not reflect the recent spurt of interest in gold mining. It takes time — often a few years or more — to get a mine reopened and producing again. And not all recovered gold is reported. "Most prospectors are secretive," says E. W. Gresseth, mining engineer for the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. "And there's no one to report (gold recoveries) to anyway." (Prior to 1968, the government by law bought all gold. Today, jewelers and mineral dealers are the major buyers and sellers of specimen gold.)

Experts seem to agree that while there may be gold out there, the chances of a miner becoming rich quick are slim. However, if any prospectors did strike it big, few would say so. As Alleghany miner Mike Miller says, "The last thing they would do is brag about it."

During the 1975-76 drought, low water levels in Sierra and Klamath Mountain streams permitted prospectors to reach deep crevices in stream beds that usually are inaccessible. "A number of small but rich strikes" were made there, the Division of Mines of Geology reports. Some nuggets weighing more than one ounce were taken. And, in 1977, a 13-pound gold nugget was found in an undisclosed location in the Mojave Desert. Can the average prospector today make money panning or dredging for gold? "Some suction dredgers claim they make $50 to $100 a day, plus," says Alfors of Mines and Geology. "Those are the ones who know what they're doing. Most of them don't. They spend all day out there and if they get a dollar's worth of gold, they're probably doing good."

For large-scale operations, gold mining can be an expensive business. It takes capital, and time, to reopen a mine that's been shut down for decades. Calaveras County's Blazing Star mine, owned by a Canadian firm, has been operating "almost a year now and I understand they still haven't hit the ore body yet, if they ever will," Alfors says. "They anticipate it might cost them $10 million to get the mine in shape to start working. They've spent $2 million already and they're got nothing to show for it except a hole in the ground."

A valuable byproduct

In recent years, much of the gold produced in California has been a byproduct of other mining. The Pine Creek tungsten mine in Inyo County, owned by the New York-based Union Carbide Corporation, is "one of the biggest gold producers in the state," Alfors notes. "Of course, that doesn't speak too well for the gold mining industry in California."

Byproduct placer gold also is being produced by several large sand and gravel operators in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. "They just put a gold saver in there and run their sand and gravel through it and collect the gold," Alfors says. "And I understand some of them are making pretty good now. Years ago, when it was $35 an ounce, they wouldn't be able to pay their electricity with the gold they saved."

More and more firms, though, are reviving old mines. One San Francisco-based company, Mother Lode Gold Mines

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Consolidated, acquired over 50 idle mines and sold stock to reopen them. And, in El Dorado County, a gold mining operation is beginning on a very large scale, reports Fish and Game's Elliott.

"I heard that the owner anticipates getting $250,000 a day out of this operation," Elliott says. "They call it the 'Big Hole' project, because basically they are going to dig a big hole there. They feel there is a pot of gold that, over the centuries, has been deposited along a certain stretch of the Cosumnes River and if they can get down deep enough they'll find it. They have the money and the means whereby they can extract it."

Just how much wealth this 1980s-style gold rush will produce is anyone's guess. To date, there has been more "activity" than actual mining or production. "A lot of people are scurrying around and a lot of people are putting money in the ground," says Alfors. "But there's not too many people taking any money out."

However, John Corbett of Tahoe National Forest adds: "There is probably much more gold up there than was ever taken out. It's just a matter of finding it. Basically, our job is to keep the country from being torn up in the process."

STRICTLY OPINION

With this column, the ***Journal*** *provides a forum for those wishing to express opinions on California political issues. Inquiries about future columns are encouraged.*

Influencing the judiciary

By SHELDON PORTMAN

David Ross' recent column ("The Political Judiciary," *CJ*, April 1980) discussed what he termed "the inevitable emergence of the political judiciary," and cited "vacillating" court decisions to prove the point. Ironically, atop the list of such decisions was *People v. Tanner* — the "use-a-gun, go-to-prison" case — an example of the worst kind of prosecutorial political pressure aimed at influencing a decision.

The *Tanner* "vacillation" resulted from an unexplained shift of sides by Justice Mosk following one of the most blatant "political" attacks in recent history against a high court decision — an attack instigated by the state's right-wing "law-and-order" elements. That attack included spurious charges against the Supreme Court — later found to be false — that the Court had deliberately withheld the *Tanner* decision in order to benefit the Chief Justice at the polls. That charge, on the eve of the election, resulted in the near-defeat of Chief Justice Bird, and it spawned an unprecedented investigation of the members of the high court that dragged on for months before concluding that the charge was unfounded.

It can only be surmised that the political attack on the state's high court had its intended effect, for it seemed to cause at least one member of the Court (Mosk) to shift sides in a narrow 4 to 3 decision. The failure of Justice Mosk to explain his switch gave credence to the effectiveness of law-and-order political pressure.

In the grossest kind of bootstrapping logic, Ross, a past president of the Los Angeles Deputy District Attorneys Association, now points to this as evidence of the reality of our "political judiciary." On this basis, trial court judges are urged to join the DAs in throwing more brickbats against the appellate courts for the "idiocy of some decisions." It is hard to imagine anything more inimical to our democratic judicial system than this "call-to-arms" by a sworn law enforcement official to the trial courts to engage in open political warfare with the higher courts.

But this blatant rationalization of the continuing right-wing political attack on the state's appellate judiciary is consistent with Ross' sentiments on the constitutional role of the courts revealed in the May 1979 issue of the *California Journal* in which he was quoted as exhorting trial courts to ignore their sworn "duty to uphold the Constitution" in favor of what he called "a duty to a higher law" in not letting a "known" murderer go free. Ironically, that statement appeared about the same time that Ayatollah Khomeini was exhorting his followers that after the Islamic Revolution there was "no reason why a criminal should be tried in the first place . . . Once his identity (was) established he should be killed right away."

Those adhering to the "higher law" theory are obviously not at all unhappy about politicizing California courts. They think they can win that game — having already "tasted blood" in the *Tanner* case and having gained a near victory at the polls over Chief Justice Bird. They have also succeeded in intimidating many trial court judges by a purported "survey" of their "views" on crime and punishment and by a "law-and-order" campaign war chest to run DAs against any judges who displease them.

Their political muscle is now being used to raise money and gather signatures to qualify a constitutional initiative that would set California back 50 years by restoring contested judicial elections of appellate court justices. They know that if they can win that one, they will be able to extend their political influence directly into the appellate courts. Of course, in their haste to do so, they neglect to note that under such a system, other far more powerful special interests — such as big oil, real estate, insurance and banking interests and even organized crime — will have equal access to influencing the appellate judiciary.

But we needn't worry, they say, because we will simply be substituting one brand of politics for another. The politics of constitutional principles and enforcement of the Bill of Rights will merely be supplanted by the politics of law and order, special interests and Khomeini-style justice.

Sheldon Portman is public defender for Santa Clara County.

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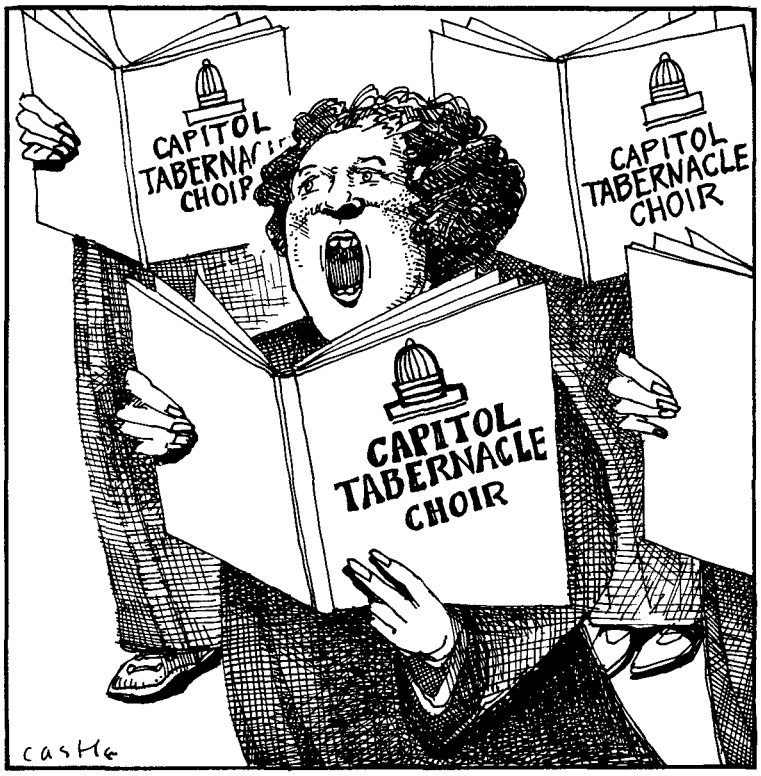
The Mormon influence in the politics of California

By KERRY DRAGER



The Mormon Church, officially the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is one of the fastest-growing faiths in the world. With nearly 5 million members and 6,500 congregations worldwide, the church has become America's biggest, strongest and richest native religion.

The power of Mormons in the state of Utah, where the church has its headquarters, is common knowledge. But Mormons are becoming more and more influential throughout the United States. An editorial in the first issue of *Dialogue*, an unofficial church journal founded in 1966, proclaimed:

"Most Mormons (now) live outside Utah. Today it is not unusual to see Mormon congressmen in Washington, Mormon business executives in Chicago, Mormon professors at Harvard or Mormon space scientists at Houston. Mormons are participating freely in the social, economic and cultural currents of change sweeping twentieth-century America."

Including California politics. In no other state besides Utah has Mormon influence made such an impact as it has in California. The state's more than 400,000 Mormons are second only to Utah's 900,000. And California Mormons are entering politics in increasing numbers.

There are five Mormons in the Legislature this year. In the Assembly are Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach and Don Rogers of Bakersfield, both Republicans. Democrats include Assembly veterans Alister McAlister of San Jose and Floyd S. Mori of Hayward. The lone Mormon senator is Republican William Campbell of Whittier.

Other California Mormon lawmakers include Republican Congressmen Clair W. Burgener of San Diego and Norman Shumway of Stockton. Former Lieutenant Governor John Harmer, ex-Assemblyman Jim Keysor and former Congressman Del Clawson are also Mormons.

Kerry Drager is a free-lance writer in Sacramento.

Getting involved

The church encourages members to become involved in political activities, whether it's running for office, contributing to a candidate, speaking out at a hearing, or merely voting and keeping informed on the issues. Such involvement is a long-standing LDS goal. Church founder Joseph Smith left a set of 13 "Articles of Faith" for Mormons to live by. The 12th article says that members "believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law."

William E. Zwick Jr., president of the California Sacramento Mission, notes: "We encourage all of our members to take part in community activities. But we don't say to be Republican or Democrat; we just say to be as active as you can in the politics of the area — from the grassroots right on through to the final vote."

The church neither recommends candidates to its members nor contributes money to any Mormon candidate's campaign. "The church, per se, won't support a candidate," says Ronald Fox, a Mormon administrative assistant to state Senator John V. Briggs. "But it will encourage members, as individual citizens, to support candidates of their choice — by means of volunteering labor or giving financial assistance, or by running for office themselves."

Assemblyman Rogers, a counselor in his church's Sunday School, says: "Sure, I had a lot of members of my church who were helping me during my campaign, but they were doing it on an individual basis. And at no time did my church take any stand whatsoever in support of my candidacy. Which I think is proper."

Senate Minority Floor Leader Campbell, who teaches a Sunday School class, adds: "Some of the members have contributed to my campaign. But I have never really relied on Mormon Church members for my main support. My main financial support comes from other areas."

The church does take positions on moral issues. But, in most cases, the church will not tell members how to vote. Fox, also executive secretary in the California Sacramento Mission, says: "The church, for instance, had a strong stand against homosexuality but it wouldn't come out and say, 'Vote no on 6 (the anti-homosexual proposition on last year's ballot),' or 'Vote yes on 6.' "

Campbell says that during his years in the Legislature, the church has never told him how to vote on a particular issue. "One of the tenets of the Mormon Church is an issue called free agency — that an individual should be capable of making decisions for himself," he says.

Has his religion been an influence on his political views? "My philosophy has evolved through the years from always

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having been a conservative — a fiscal conservative, particularly — and a believer in the free marketplace. That's been my philosophy all my life. So I don't know as my religion has influenced that one way or the other. Besides, I wouldn't want the church to have to take the blame for my philosophy,' Campbell adds with a laugh.

However, the church presidency in Utah has taken stands on political issues it feels are in violation of gospel principles. One such position concerns the Equal Rights Amendment. The role of women in the church has long been a sore point among Mormon detractors. Women are not allowed in the priesthood and the church is adamantly opposed to the ERA. The church, which sees the ERA as a threat to the family, has been a major force in preventing its ratification in a number of states.

"The church has taken a very definite stand against the ERA, with the idea that the church has always recognized women," Mission President Zwick says. Early in their history Mormons allowed women to attend college, and the Utah constitution proclaimed in 1896 that men and women should have the same rights and privileges. Also, a woman's society in the church was established in 1840.

"Joseph Smith recognized the need of women to have a share in responsibility and also to have an organization of their own," Zwick adds. "It gives women absolute responsibilities. And the church has always stood on education for all of its people — men and women."

Marian Bergeson, whose ancesters were among the first settlers in the Salt Lake Valley, sees no conflict between being a Mormon and a woman legislator. "I don't think the church's stand against the ERA prohibits women from participating in the political process. In fact, the church actually advocates, or respects, the right of individuals to accomplish anything they feel they are capable of accomplishing. Women or men."

And Mrs. Bergeson's position on the ERA? "I generally have not been that supportive of the ERA. But it's not because I don't believe in women's rights. We've probably had some good things that have come out of the ERA as far as women's rights are concerned. But I'm not involved with feminists' issues, per se. I involve myself with constituents' issues and certainly women's concerns are a part of that."

Being a Mormon politician can present other conflicts as well. Until 1978, blacks were the only race denied the priesthood, which is open to males in good standing at age 12. The question of blacks becoming priests often led to controversy. Mormon George Romney, the former Michigan governor, running for the presidency in 1968, was questioned frequently about it. However, Church President Spencer W. Kimball announced in 1978 that he had received a revelation from God enabling black men to enter the priesthood.

And, in May of this year, Kimball told the largest gathering of Mormons ever that they must step up their efforts to convert minorities, including Hispanics. Nearly 100,000 persons filled Pasadena's Rose Bowl on the second day of the weekend event. It was one of several area conferences intended to bring the message of the church leadership to members who could not travel to Salt Lake City.

The gay rights issue

Although the issue of blacks is resolved, Floyd Mori, who is Japanese, faces a conflict on the church's stand on another minority — homosexuals. "Being a minority and being concerned about civil rights, I have to appreciate the need to respect civil rights and not have a race or philosophy or whatever affect one's rights in terms of employment," says Mori. "So I'm having an inner struggle with the issue of gay rights. It's hard when you support an issue such as gay rights. To me the issue is not being gay or not; the issue is rights. And if you vote for rights, some people perceive that you're voting for gays. But I make it known I don't agree with that lifestyle. I just don't believe in it."

The question of rights, particularly religious freedom, was often a problem throughout early Mormon history. The church was founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith, whom Mormons accept as having found and translated a divinely inspired record of the early history and religion of America, the Book of Mormon. With Smith's own writings and the Bible, this forms the Mormon scriptures. Smith's teachings quickly gained a following, but the Mormons' attempts to settle met with persecution, culminating in the murder of Smith in 1844. Brigham Young led the Mormons in 1847 beyond the frontier to what is now Salt Lake City. In 1850 Congress granted them the Territory of Utah with Young as governor. Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896.

Persecution against the Mormons is largely a thing of the past. Today most Mormon politicians don't see their religion as being a primary obstacle in their campaigns. And sometimes it's an asset. "I don't think there are many, if any, people who would vote against me because of my faith," Alister McAlister says. "Mormons, like a lot of other religious and ethnic groups that are somewhat close among themselves — or almost clannish, one might say — probably tend to vote for their own people if they think they've got a good member running. So it's certainly not a negative factor. And there are some people who admire Mormons for their stands, the moral life that at least a good Mormon should live."

Families and politics

The appeal of Mormonism stems as much from its self-contained, stable lifestyle as from its doctrines. On television, millions of Americans have been exposed to the epitome of the Mormons' successful, striving, family-oriented, law-abiding morality by that cherubic pair, Donny and Marie Osmond. Such family ties are equally important to California's Mormon legislators, who often find it difficult to combine family and politics.

"It's a continuing problem," says McAlister, who teaches a priesthood class each Sunday. "I think that if I were to leave politics that would be one of the major considerations. When you're in full-time politics it's hard. I've tried to balance these two obligations. I moved my family to the Sacramento area several years ago so I could be with them more. And I don't accept every speaking invitation or every silly political obligation that I might, because of my concern for the family. But one is torn both ways."

With the LDS influence in politics increasing, have Mormons become fully absorbed into society? Not really. "Mormons do remain apart from greater American society," the *Dialogue* editorial continued. "Their experience, heritage and tradition of years in isolation remain an integral part of Mormon belief; Mormon doctrine reinforces individual withdrawal and defiance of conformity in the face of modern convention."

This is shown best through the famed Mormon Welfare Plan, of which an estimated 20,000 Californians are recipients. The church discourages public welfare and operates an internal agency. The system (which does not extend to outsiders, known as Gentiles) provides food, clothing and other necessities for the needy. In addition, it gives church-sponsored jobs to the unemployed. There are canneries, farms and factories, where church members — including legislators — often donate their time.

"When it gets down to welfare projects and you're a member of the church," Ron Fox says, "it doesn't matter what your station is in life. You just go out and start picking fruit."

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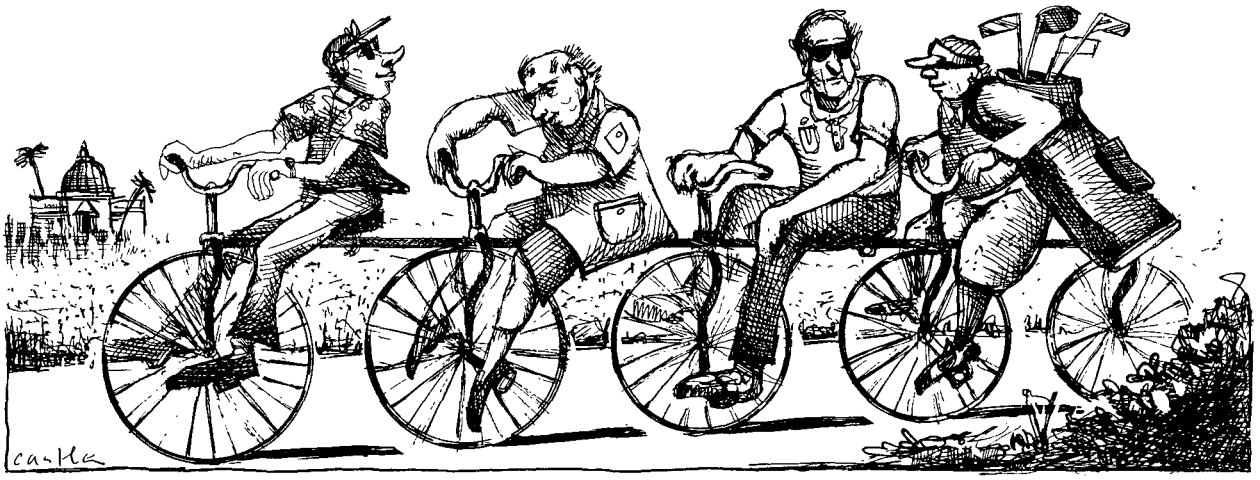

How are you going to keep 'em down in L.A.

After they've seen Sacramento?

By Richard Rodda

Back in 1966, Edmund G. Brown and Ronald Reagan had little in common, with one major exception: a desire to reform the state Legislature. Little did they realize that one of the outcomes of such reform would be the creation of a new class of Sacramento citizens — former lawmakers.

Today more than 50 ex-senators and ex-assemblymen live or have business interests in the Sacramento area. All have represented districts outside Sacramento. The nation's capital has long been a haven for attorneys, lobbyists and consultants who first came to Washington as members of Congress. Now it appears that Sacramento fever is nearly as contagious as Potomac fever.

Fourteen years ago, California voters elected Republican Ronald Reagan governor by nearly a 1 million plurality over Pat Brown, the Democratic incumbent. At the same time they approved Proposition 1A by a substantial majority. The constitutional amendment, endorsed in a joint statement by Brown and Reagan, established annual sessions of the Legislature and boosted the salaries of the 120 lawmakers from $500 a month to more than $16,000 a year.

Regular cost-of-living increases (limited to 5 percent a year) have advanced their pay to $25,555 a year for the 1979-80 sessions. Expense allowances of $46 a day while in session, leased cars at their disposal and other perquisites make it attractive for legislators to spend more time in Sacramento. Many are so enamored that they stick around after being defeated for re-election or after retiring.

For example:

- The four living ex-presidents pro tempore of the Senate are local residents.
- Five of seven living former Assembly speakers have residential or professional ties in the Capitol. One of them, former Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh, once the state's most powerful Democrat, lives in Sacramento by virtue of the fact that he is serving his second term as state treasurer.
- Charles Warren, ex-assemblyman who recently resigned as director of President Carter's Council on Environmental Quality, is back in Sacramento as Carter's trouble-shooter dealing with the state's gasoline shortage.
- The Sacramento area is home for 17 former Los Angeles County lawmakers, four from Orange County, three each from Kern, San Joaquin, Merced and San Mateo counties, two each from Riverside, Placer and Tulare counties, and one each from the following: San Diego, Plumas, Shasta, Trinity, Fresno, Modoc, Siskiyou, Napa, Yuba, Stanislaus and Alameda.
- Seven widows of lawmakers reside in the capital. They arrived here with their husbands from Santa Cruz, Alameda, Marin, Calaveras, Stanislaus, Santa Clara and Shasta counties.

Centrally located

Typical of the ex-lawmakers is Howard Way, Senate president pro tempore in 1969 and 1970. Way retired in 1975 after representing his Tulare district for 14 years. "It was a difficult decision for us," Way recalls.

Way had barely settled into retirement when Governor Jerry Brown asked him to serve as chairman of the Community Release Board, the state parole board. He likes the new challenge and says he is happier than ever with life in Sacramento. He recently was promoted to secretary of the Youth and Adult Corrections Agency, a position in the Brown cabinet.

Robert T. Monagan, formerly of San Joaquin County, was Assembly speaker in 1969-70. "We find Sacramento a very attractive place to live," he says. "I think others feel the same way. They come from smaller communities and quickly learn to enjoy the excitement of the capital." Monagan is the full-time president of the California Manufacturers Association, headquartered in Sacramento.

Another ex-speaker, Bob Moretti, came to the Assembly in 1964 from North Hollywood. He was speaker from 1971 to 1973. Today he runs an import-export firm in Sacramento.

Other capital transplants include:

Paul Peek was an assemblyman from Long Beach from 1937 to 1940 and speaker in 1939. Later he was secretary of state, then a justice of the 3rd District Court of Appeal and finally an associate justice of the state Supreme Court. He retired in 1967.

"Our ties here became very strong," he explains. "It was obvious we were a permanent part of the community. Once I was playing golf with the late editor of the *Sacramento Bee* (Walter P. Jones) and I asked him: 'How long do you have to live here to become a Sacramentan in your paper?' That did it. The Bee finally stopped identifying me as a Southern Californian."

Former Senator ***Jack Schrade*** of San Diego, who suc-

Richard Rodda is the retired political editor of the McClatchy newspapers.

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ceeded Way as president pro tem, also remained. He owns a home at El Macero, a short commute from the capital. Schrade, who served in the Legislature from 1955 to 1977 both as assemblyman and senator, said in the later years he found himself spending much more time here, so he sold his San Diego home in favor of an apartment there and bought a home here.

Hugh M. Burns, who represented Fresno County, was Senate president pro tempore for 12 years, retiring in 1969. He never returned to Fresno. He lives in Sacramento in retirement.

Harold J. Powers was president pro tem from 1943 to 1953 and hailed from Modoc County. He was lieutenant governor from 1953 to 1958, when his political career ended. Like Burns, he did not return to his home county and has a home near Elk Grove, a Sacramento suburb.

Gordon H. Garland, Assembly speaker in 1940 and 1941, has a year-round residential suite and office in the Mansion Inn. He is a legislative advocate.

The only living ex-speakers who have severed their Sacramento ties are William Mosely Jones (1937), who lives in Southern California, and Luther H. "Abe" Lincoln of Alameda County (1955-58).

An occasional liability

Sometimes the Sacramento connection is a political liability. Former Assemblyman Mike Cullen of Long Beach spent so much time here that he became known as Sacramento's "fourth assemblyman." Last year a primary election opponent used this theme to defeat Cullen.

Assemblyman John L. E. Collier of Los Angeles County, a 30-year veteran in the lower house, was defeated in the 1978 primary. The fact that he had a love affair with Sacramento may have been one of the reasons he lost. He has a home at El Macero. Friends say that after his defeat he compared the cost of keeping up his golf game with the prices in Los Angeles, and the Sacramento area won easily.

Senator Randolph Collier of Siskiyou County served in the upper house for nearly 40 years, one of the longest legislative tenures in the state's history. So he stayed put after his upset defeat in 1976. "We bought a house in Sacramento eight or nine years ago," he explains. "The family desires to stay now. This is a lovely city. My only complaint is that the fall burning of the fields does not help my hayfever."

Don A. Allen, who represented Los Angeles County in the Assembly for nearly 20 years, decided to stay when he retired from the Legislature 15 years ago. "Our neighborhood in Southern California was changing for the worse," he recalls. "We sold our home there and bought one here — it was that simple."

Allen enjoys the self-appointed task of keeping in touch with his former colleagues as founder and executive secretary of the Association of Former California Legislators. For years, the group met for a reunion at the Hotel Senator facing Capitol Park.

Local lawyers

Former Senator W. Craig Biddle of Riverside County was helped in his decision to remain by the loss of his home to a freeway project in Riverside. Now he practices law in Sacramento, specializing in government activities.

Frank Murphy Jr., a Santa Cruz assemblyman from 1967 to 1976, also is a local lawyer and a legislative advocate. "Our four daughters are happy here," he says. "Santa Cruz is now a nice place to visit."

Harold Sedgwick, formerly of Marysville, served in the Assembly and Senate. Now he is a Sacramentan, but he says, "I must admit that I don't enjoy Sacramento as much as I used to. It has changed."

Carl A. Britschgi, a San Mateo County assemblyman, was defeated in 1970 and remained in Sacramento as a member of the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board. In 1978 Governor Brown fired him. But the Britschgis did not move back to Redwood City. "I'm an avid golfer and like it in Sacramento," he explains.

Charles M. Weber, 85, is another veteran with a local address. He formerly represented San Joaquin in the Assembly. He and his wife have a home in the fashionable College Tract near Sacramento's William Land Park.

Thomas M. Erwin, 82, lives in Capitol Towers, a high-rise apartment near the Capitol. He was a Los Angeles assemblyman from 1943 to 1959.

Clare L. Berryhill, Stanislaus County assemblyman and senator in the early '70s, spends time each week in Sacramento as president of the California Association of Wine Grape Growers.

A natural occupation

Lobbying is a natural occupation for ex-lawmakers. James D. Garibaldi, a Madera assemblyman in the '30s, is a veteran legislative advocate for liquor interests and other clients.

Other former lawmakers, now lobbyists, include Joe A. Gonsalves, LeRoy E. Lyon Jr., David Negri, Gordon H. Winton Jr., John P. Quimby, Robert H. Burke, Kent H. Redwine, Paul Lunardi, Joseph C. Shell, Kent H. Stacey, and Daniel J. Creedon. All represented counties other than Sacramento in the Legislature.

John F. Dunlap commutes to Sacramento from Napa to serve on the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board. He had served both in the Assembly and Senate.

Kenneth Cory, formerly an assemblyman from Orange County, is state controller and a solid local citizen. March Fong Eu, ex-Alameda County Assemblywoman, is secretary of state and splits time between Los Angeles and Sacramento.

Pauline Davis, Plumas County assemblywoman from 1953 to 1975, opened an antique shop in Sacramento upon her retirement from the Legislature. Retired Assemblymen Clayton A. Dills and John W. Evans of Los Angeles are Sacramentans.

Ray Gonzales, Kern County assemblyman in the early '70s, was a Sacramento-based, full-time member of the Public Employment Relations Board until his recent resignation to take a foreign-service post.

Arlen Gregorio, San Mateo County senator from 1971 to 1978, has joined the staff of the League of California Cities with offices in Sacramento. Gregorio divides his time between Sacramento and Washington.

Fred Marler Jr., Shasta County senator for eight years, is now a superior court judge in Sacramento. Edwin J. Regan is a Sacramento appeals court justice and former Trinity County senator.

John L. Harmer, a Los Angeles County senator from 1967 to 1974, has a law practice in Roseville and a home in Hidden Valley, an exclusive residential district within commuting distance of Sacramento and Roseville.

James Q. Wedworth, a Los Angeles County senator from 1967 to 1976, has ranching interests in the Sacramento area.

John C. Williamson, a Kern County assemblyman from 1959 to 1966, stayed here as an administrator to Senator James R. Mills, president pro tempore of the Senate. Williamson now is retired and lives in nearby Davis.

The Pals' Club, the social arm of the Legislature run by lawmakers' wives, has been a means of strengthening friendships in Sacramento. The Derby Club, composed of legislators, ex-legislators and lobbyists, meets every Tuesday over drinks and lunch at Posey's restaurant. And a loosely organized group of ex-legislators, lobbyists and legislative attachés gathers the last Friday of each month at another restaurant, Neptune's Table, to reminisce.

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Finally, on to business

The real 1980 legislative session started on June 4th, many months after lawmakers started congregating in the Capitol. Until that time, the Legislature was in a state of partial paralysis, caused by uncertainty over the fate of Proposition 9. Now that Jaws II has been slain, lawmakers no longer face the prospect of having to make unpleasant choices in the allocation of funds. Business can proceed as usual.

The main tasks before the Legislature included disposition of the state's $29-billion-plus surplus and a determination of a pay raise for state workers. If Proposition 9 had been passed, there would have been no surplus or pay hikes for public employees. The Assembly went into a rare closed session to discuss the level of employee compensation. Governor Brown had called for a 9 percent increase, and the California State Employees Association sought 14.1 percent. Hanging over legislators' heads was a warning by state Controller Ken Cory that he would not pay any bills (including salaries) after July 1st if a budget was not signed into law. In recent years, the Legislature has gone past that date in enacting a budget.

The McCarthy-Berman struggle for the speakership continued to flavor almost every significant event in the Lower House, especially after Howard Berman's forces defeated veteran Jack Fenton with a last-week blitz. Speaker Leo McCarthy's backers were discussing removal of Berman as Democratic caucus chairman, and Berman lieutenants were talking about arranging a coalition with Republicans to oust McCarthy from the speakership.

Meanwhile, lawmakers continued to deal with a variety of other matters. Legislation to authorize construction of the Peripheral Canal around the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta was moving through the Assembly at a slow pace. Lawmakers sent Governor Brown a bill to urge filling of the reservoir behind the New Melones Dam despite a veto threat from Brown. Also, a measure by Senator Ken Maddy to cast aside current state pesticide regulations kept moving — again in the face of a probable veto. The Senate approved a bill requiring Senate confirmation of appointments to the state's highest courts. The bill will probably be vetoed if it survives the Assembly.

Senate (23D,17R)	SCA 35	SCA 37	SB 2039	AB 2164	SB 1480	SB 1814	SB 1911	SCA 46	SB 1674	SCA 33
Alquist (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Ayala (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Beverly (R)	Y	Y	N	*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Briggs (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Campbell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Carpenter (D)	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Craven (R)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Cusanovich (R)	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Dills (D)	N	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Foran (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Garamendi (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y
Garcia, A. (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Garcia, M. (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Greene (D)	N	*	Y	Y	*	N	*	Y	Y	Y
Holmdahl (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y
Johnson (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Keene (D)	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Maddy (R)	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Marks (R)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mills (D)	N	Y	N	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Montoya (D)	N	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nejedly (R)	*	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	*	N	N
Nielsen (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Nimmo (R)	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Petris (D)	N	*	*	*	N	*	Y	*	Y	Y
Presley (D)	Y	Y	N	*	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Rains (D)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Richardson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	*	N	N
Robbins (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roberti (D)	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rodda (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Russell (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Schmitz (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Sieroty (D)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Speraw (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stiern (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Vuich (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Watson (D)	N	*	Y	*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Wilson (D)	*	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-June. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y – Yes **N – No**
***— Absent or not voting**

A 2/3 vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 27 votes)

Senate

SCA 35 (Russell) — Proposed constitutional amendment making substantial changes in the procedure for appointing and electing judges. Failed, 16 - 16.

SCA 37 (Garamendi) — Proposed constitutional amendment requiring that all judicial appointees be subject to Senate confirmation. Passed, 27 - 8.

SB 2039 (Nielsen) — Prohibits state from imposing stricter smog controls than the federal government. Passed, 21 - 14.

AB 2164 (N. Waters) — Requires filling of the New Melones Dam. Passed, 26 - 6.

SB 1480 (Campbell) — Legalizes use of laetrile in the treatment of cancer. Passed, 23 - 11.

SB 1814 (Schmitz) — Requires minors to obtain parental consent or a court order before undergoing abortions. Passed, 21 - 12.

SB 1911 (Petris) — Repeals state income-tax deduction for gasoline taxes and provides tax credits for transit and bus-pool use. Passed, 21 - 17.

SCA 46 (Speraw) — Proposed constitutional amendment changing Proposition 13 to prohibit reassessment of homes upon change of ownership. Passed 27 - 8.

SB 1674 (Wilson) — Revises State Bar membership fees. Passed, 29 - 10.

SCA 33 (Keene) — Proposed constitutional amendment removing the lieutenant governor as president of the state Senate. Passed, 27 - 12.

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Assembly

AB 3002 (Harris) — Gives small businesses preference in receiving state contracts. Passed, 58 - 11.

AB 3021 (Stirling) — Initiates licensing for persons who administer lie-detector tests. Passed, 41 - 24.

AB 3423 (Mello) — Places on the November ballot a proposed $2.2 billion bond issue to finance the Peripheral Canal. Passed, 54 - 21.

AB 3001 (Harris) — Requires that affirmative action be considered in the layoff of state employees. Passed, 46 - 26.

AB 2277 (Hannigan) — Makes it easier for couples to obtain uncontested divorces. Passed, 51 - 16.

AB 2596 (Bates) — Reduces the state sales tax whenever there is a surplus of state funds. Passed, 66 - 5.

AB 3157 (Kapiloff) — Authorizes state limitation of county fuel usage as an alternative to the odd-even gasoline-purchase plan. Defeated, 52 - 17 (54 votes required).

SB 1960 (Rains) — Requires local governments to allow mobilehomes to be situated in residential neighborhoods. Failed, 25 - 33.

Assembly (50D, 30R)	AB 3002	AB 3021	AB 3423	AB 3001	AB 2277	AB 2596	AB 3157	SB 1960
Agnos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*
Alatorre (D)	*	*	Y	*	*	Y	*	N
Bane (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Bannai (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Bates (D)	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Bergeson (R)	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Berman (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Boatwright (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*
Bosco (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Brown, D. (R)	N	*	Y	N	Y	N	*	
Brown, W. (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Calvo (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Chacon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Chappie (R)	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	N	*
Cline (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Costa (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Deddeh (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duffy (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	
Egeland (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Elder (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Ellis (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y	
Felando (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
Fenton (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	
Filante (R)	N	Y	N	*	N	N	N	
Frazee (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Gage (D)	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y	
Goggin (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*	
Greene (D)	*	N	N	*	Y	Y	N	
Hallett (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	
Hannigan (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	N	
Harris (D)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
Hart (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	
Hayden (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	
Hayes (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Hughes (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	*	
Imbrecht (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	
Ingalls (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
Ivers (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	
Johnson (R)	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	
Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	
Kelley (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
Knox (D)	*	*	N	*	Y	Y	*	
Lancaster (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
Lehman (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Leonard (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	
Levine (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	
Lockyer (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	
Mangers (D)	Y	*	Y	N	Y	*	N	
McAlister (D)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	
McCarthy (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	*	
McVittie (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	
Mello (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Moore (D)	*	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	
Moorhead (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	*	N	
Mori (D)	Y	N	*	Y	N	Y	*	
Mountjoy (R)	N	Y	N	N	*	Y	N	
Naylor (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	
Nestande (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Nolan (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	
Papan (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	
Perino (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	
Priolo (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	*	N
Robinson (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	
Rogers (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Roos (D)	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Rosenthal (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Ryan (R)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	N	N	*
Statham (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Stirling (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*	N
Tanner (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	N
Thurman (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Torres (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N
Tucker (D)	*	*	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	
Vicencia (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	
Waters, M. (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Waters, N. (D)	Y	N	N	*	Y	Y	N	
Wray (D)	*	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	
Wyman (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Young (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	N

Significant Court Actions

Cash for the court

The Law and Order Campaign Committee, headed by state Senator H. L. Richardson, dropped its lawsuit that caused Supreme Court justices to go two months without paychecks last year. John Feliz, staff director of the committee, said that the lawsuit had accomplished its purpose. At the time the issue went before the courts, state Controller Ken Cory found that the court was violating a 100-year-old constitutional provision requiring that all cases be decided within 90 days after arguments are submitted. The controller's office found that 25 cases had been held beyond 90 days last fall, but a check this spring showed that only one case was over the limit. Feliz said cost of pursuing the case was the deciding factor. Will the court now go back to its procrastinating ways? Feliz thinks not, because it would assist his organization in its efforts to pass an initiative reforming the state's appeals courts.

In a 6 - 1 decision, the state Supreme Court ruled that employees may recover punitive damages from employers who fire them for refusing to engage in illegal activities. In *Tameny v. Atlantic Richfield Company*, Justice Mathew Tobriner wrote: "The employer is not so absolute a sovereign of the job that there are no limits to his prerogative." The employee, Gordon Tameny of Bakersfield, claimed he was discharged for refusing to join in a scheme to fix retail gasoline prices. In dissent, Justice William P. Clark charged his colleagues with substituting their judgment for that of the Legislature. In another case, the court, 4 - 3, struck down local zoning ordinances limiting the number of unrelated persons residing in a single-family dwelling. The majority upheld the rights of the "alternative family" in a new interpretation of the right to privacy.

In Washington, the United States Supreme Court took action that upholds California's right to establish stricter automobile pollution standards than the rest of the nation. The high court affirmed without comment an appellate court ruling that legalized a California rule requiring vehicle-emission systems to last 30,000 miles without servicing.

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following is a list of significant bills pending before the Legislature in mid-June.

SUBJECT	BILLS	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
ADOPTION	AB 1426 (Young)	Establishes procedure to enable adopted persons to make contact with their natural parents if all parties are agreeable.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS	ACA 16 (McAlister) ACA 60 (Boatwright) SCA 4 (Carpenter)	Constitutional amendments authorizing the Legislature to invalidate proposed state agency regulations.	*ACA 16 was dropped by the author in favor of ACA 60, which was defeated by the Senate Rules Committee but is scheduled for rehearing. SCA 4 is pending in the Assembly Constitutional Amendments Committee.*
CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS	AB 2536 (Calvo)	Enacts Campaign Contribution Reform Act to limit campaign contributions to candidates for legislative offices.	*Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee.*
COURTS	SB 2060 (Robbins)	Proposes to equalize judicial salaries in response to California Supreme Court decision in OLSON v. CORY, which invalidated limitations on cost-of-living increases for certain judges.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
CRIMINAL JUSTICE	SB 1340 (Presley)	Authorizes the construction of major prison facilities, including two new maximum security institutions at Tehachapi, a new medical corrections center and psychiatric center at San Quentin and a new industrial work-training facility.	*Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
EDUCATION	AB 812 (Chacon) SB 220 (Johnson)	Both measures would revise bilingual education programs.	*AB 812 was defeated by the Senate Education Committee but is scheduled for reconsideration. SB 220 is pending in the Assembly Education Committee.*
GOVERNOR'S APPOINTMENTS	SB 1852 (Mills)	Requires reconfirmation by the Senate of any person holding office at the pleasure of the governor whose appointment has been approved by the Senate and who has held office continuously for four years from the date of appointment.	*Assembly Governmental Organization Committee.*
HEALTH	SB 1480 (Campbell)	Legalizes the use of laetrile and amygdalin for the treatment of cancer.	*Defeated in Assembly Health Committee.*
MOBILEHOMES	GRP 1 (Governor)	Governor's reorganization plan to restructure and centralize state regulation of mobilehomes.	*Plan takes effect 60 days after submission unless Legislature disapproves.*
PUBLIC SALARIES	SCA 49 (Garcia)	Constitutional amendment permitting Legislature to reduce the salaries of public officials, including judges during their terms of office.	*Defeated by Senate Public Employment and Retirement Committee.*
	SB 1434 (Alquist)	Reappropriates $207.5 million for state employee salary increases approved by Legislature in 1979 but withheld as a result of a legal challenge.	*Senate Public Employment and Retirement Committee.*
	AB 2272 (Deddeh)	Reappropriates $207.5 million, plus interest, for state employee salary increases approved by Legislature in 1979 but withheld as a result of a legal challenge.	*Assembly Public Employees and Retirement Committee.*
TAXATION	AB 2596 (Bates) AB 2268 (Vasconcellos) AB 1538 (Kapiloff) AB 2372 (Kapiloff)	All four measures would reduce the state sales tax whenever the state accumulates a surplus in any fiscal year.	*AB 2596 and AB 1538 are in the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee. AB 2372 was defeated by the Assembly and AB 2268 was defeated by the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	AB 2092 (Deddeh)	Major inheritance tax reform bill. Exempts all property transferred to a surviving spouse from inheritance and gift taxes.	*Senate Finance Committee.*
	AB 2644 (Naylor)	Increases the renter's income tax credit from $137 to $180 for married couples and from $60 to $90 for others for the 1980 fiscal year only.	*Defeated by Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
WORKERS COMPENSATION	SB 375 (Greene)	Major workers compensation reform measure.	*Assembly Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee.*

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By Leo Rennert

The California battleground

There's a great temptation, after all the sound and fury of a long primary season, to dismiss California's impact on the 1980 presidential contests. Having invented the superspectacular extravaganza, California this time seems to have come up with a clinker of a B-movie — like some of those Ronald Reagan oldies. Super Tuesday shuffled off with a whimper, not a bang. At least, that's what many pundits and political pros would have us believe. On the Republican side, Reagan sealed the nomination well before June 3rd and California's winner-take-all prize was mere icing on the cake. George Bush folded his tent before California's GOP voters had a chance to get into the fray. In the Democratic trenches, President Carter scraped up enough delegates in the early going so that he could afford to lose California. The White House paid more attention to Iowa and New Hampshire than to the nation's most populous state. In his march to the nomination, Carter appeared to be using a political map on which California was a blank. No wonder there's talk that California ought to advance the date of its primary if it wants a piece of the action the next time around.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS, HOWEVER, can be deceiving — especially in politics. Actually, a good case can be made for the proposition that California played a significant part in the tortuous pre-convention process in both parties. Moreover, in looking toward November, it's not too far-fetched to assume that, with John Anderson as the wild card, a three-way fight for California's 45 electoral votes could become a centerpiece of the general-election campaign. Add to that the fact that Jerry Brown injected both comic relief and avant-garde ideas in an otherwise depressing drama and California really doesn't have to apologize for its performance this year.

In the race for the Republican nomination, California was locked up for Reagan from the start. It didn't matter that the state's GOP voters didn't get to record their preference until June 3rd. All the principals in the GOP contest knew all along that California was Reagan country and had to adjust their political computers accordingly. When Reagan's adversaries began dropping out one by one, a key factor in their decision was that pro-Reagan California — with its big batch of delegates — still lay ahead. In this year's political poker game, Reagan didn't have to turn over his California card; the effect was exactly the same as if he had played it.

In the Democratic contest, California didn't have the spectacular impact of 1972 when it spelled the difference in George McGovern's victory over Hubert Humphrey. But there's more to this year's political story than Carter's reach for a numerical majority of delegates. The president, repudiated by many traditional Democratic constituencies, is headed for a rough convention. And when the final score is added up, it will be seen that California contributed mightily to the slippage of Jimmy Carter's power and influence in his own party. The nomination may be Carter's; but without California, is the prize worth it?

The president struck out in California for the third time in a row. However, this year's defeat at the hands of Senator Kennedy may have more devastating consequences than Carter's 1976 losses to Jerry Brown in the primary and to Gerald Ford in the general election. Four years ago, Carter still had a winsome Cinderella image to muffle the effect of Brown's late surge. And while Ford went on to sweep the West, including California, Carter managed to stitch together enough of the old Roosevelt coalition of conservative southern states and the big industrial centers of the Northeast to march into the White House. This time, the outlook is more ominous. There are clear signs that Carter is losing ground almost everywhere. The California results reinforced that impression with a bang. Kennedy's 45 to 38 percent margin may not have been a great victory for the senator. But it was a smashing defeat for a sitting Democratic president at the hands of his own party's voters in a state with the richest electoral prize. And this time California couldn't be written off as a fluke. Quite the opposite; it was right in the mainstream of a resounding no-confidence vote that Carter received in some of the Democratic Party's biggest bastions.

The White House miscalculated badly in plotting strategy for the June 3 primaries. It gambled on winning in Ohio and New Jersey to offset an expected narrow loss in California, where the objective was a respectable showing to demonstrate sufficient Carter strength to give Reagan a real battle in November. Carter hoped to stay within five points of Kennedy in California and to finish with more than 40 percent of the vote. The president fell short on both counts. To make matters worse, neglect of California didn't translate into victory in New Jersey.

Carter strategists figured they could coast through California with endorsements from mayors and state party leaders. The White House sprinkled a few urban grants and, at the 11th hour, wooed California environmentalists by joining fights to save Lake Tahoe and to spare Santa Monica the sight of off-shore oil rigs. Compared with the administration's show of munificence in the early primary states, this was peanuts.

California Democrats on Capitol Hill, from Senator Alan Cranston on down, are looking to their own interests and survival — not Carter's — this fall. Many members of the delegation, including professed Carter supporters, believe Reagan will be unstoppable in the state. Presidential aides worry that Anderson's independent candidacy, by appealing to trendy liberals, will exact a heavy toll in California, the trendiest of all states.

WHEN THE DUST FINALLY SETTLES, California is likely to emerge with far more than just a bystander role in this year's political fracas. It may not offer clear-cut solutions to a troubled nation, but it probably will inject more than its share of uncertainty and volatility into the presidential race. That may not be the exact impact political prognosticators were looking for, but the consequences still could be rather formidable. The last act is yet to be played. Voters are in a nasty, skeptical mood. In California, as elsewhere, they are inclined to feel they don't owe any politician, including Jimmy Carter, a rose garden.

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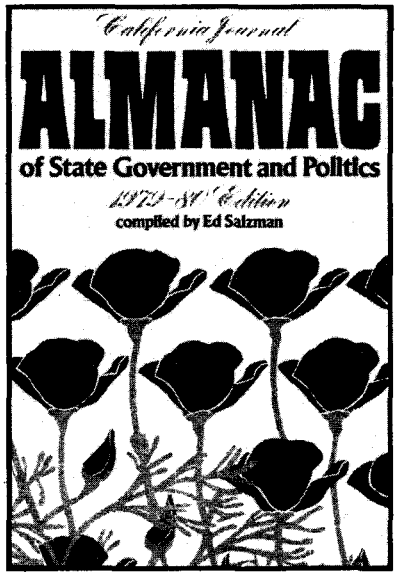

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